FOREWORD

An author's work is the reflection of his personality; and it is an old and excellent method to study a book after you have known something of the author.

P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar was born in 1863, in a Śrīvaiṣṇava family in the village of Pullaibhutamkudi, sacred to the memory of the great Āḷvars, in Tanjore District. From certain points of view the Āḷvars represent a new element of liberalism and humanism in Hindu society—a fact which may explain the author's pro-Dravidian outlook. He had a notable career as a student at the Government College, Kumbakonam and St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly. After taking his M. A. Degree in 1884 he served St. Joseph's College as a lecturer for five years. In 1890 he became the Principal of the Mrs. A. V. N. College, Vizagapatam—a position which he occupied with honour and dignity for twenty-seven years. Even after his retirement from active service he did not abandon his scholarly pursuits. His publications—*the Age of the Mantras*, and *the Stone Age in India*—ushered him into the ranks of noteworthy Indian historians. In recognition of his talents the Madras University appointed him as Reader in Indian History and Archæology in 1928, and the Annamalai University invited him to accept the Professorship of History and Politics in 1930. During the last three years of his life he produced three books of high class research, viz., *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, *History of the Tamils*, and *Bhoja Raja*.

For over four decades he was a luminary in the South Indian Educational horizon. He was a member of the Senate of the Madras University for several years. He presided thrice over the Madras Provincial Educational

Conference and every time put in a strong plea for making vernaculars the medium of instruction. He occupied many other public positions with honour to himself and credit to the bodies on which he served as a member.

But he was pre-eminently a scholar. All his writings are characterised by brevity, clarity and sound judgment. He never accepted the results of investigation by other students without an independent critical examination. It was in this spirit that he commenced his 'Advanced History of India'. But before he could complete it he was snatched away by death in 1931, at the age of sixty-eight.

In response to the request of his family, the Andhra University undertook to publish this last work of his and entrusted its editing to Mr. Gurty Venkata Rao, M.A.,LL.B., Reader in History. A close examination of the manuscript showed that the gifted author had not sufficient time to be thoroughly comprehensive and complete, and the portions subsequent to the Hindu Period were too inadequately dealt with to be fit for publication. The Hindu Period, however, could after a certain amount of revision form a valuable addition to our historical literature. In spite of the difficulty of appreciating another's individual mode and outlook, Mr. Gurty Venkata Rao brought to bear on the subject a rare sympathy and abundance of his own knowledge and researches, and revised the text thoroughly, rewriting certain portions and supplying certain omissions. In fact I am inclined to say that the work in its present form is almost a joint production.

But this does not detract from the value of Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar's treatment, for he has given a wealth of detail regarding the political and cultural progress of the country at various epochs, and advanced

a new point of view and a new interpretation of Indian History. "The chief difference between the Dasyus and the Āryas was one of cult and not of culture or race.", "the Vedic rites developed from pre-Āryan ones", "*Āgamas* were evolved from ancient Dasyu practices and theories", *etc.*, are some of his thought-provoking observations, which are at once bold and original; and this thesis is the distinguishing soul of this book. He struck a new note in the treatment of Ancient Hindu History, the full power of which will, I think, be increasingly realised. On his theory there is no grouud for claiming South India as Dravidasthān, since the whole of India is more or less Dravidasthān. The vigour and scholarship with which he upholds his pro-Dravidian theory or interpretation constitute an imperishable monument to his vast erudition and courage.

The Andhra University feels it to be a privilege as well as a pious duty to publish this book which owes its origin to the scholarship and thoughtful research of one of the most illustrious Principals of Andhra Desa.

C. R. REDDY.

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A. B. I. or A. B.O. I.	.... Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
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A. H. D.	.... Ancient History of the Deccan, by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil.
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A. I. G.	.... The age of the Imperial Guptas, by the late Prof. R. D. Benarji.
A. I. H. T.	.... Ancient Indian Historical Traditions, by F. E. Pargiter.
A. S.	.... Artha Śāstra by Kauṭilya.
A. S. I. R.	.... Archaelogical Survey of India–Annual Report.
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C. A. I. .... Chronology of Ancient India by Sita Nath Pradhan.

CHAMPA .... Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Vol. I, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

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D. K. D. .... Dynasties of Kanarese Districts, by J. F. Fleet.

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E. H. I. .... Elliot's History of India (as told by its own historians) in 8 Vols.

E. H. I. .... Early History of India, by V.A. Smith.

E. I. .... Epigraphia Indica.

G. C. .... Gupta Coins.

G. I. .... Gupta Inscriptions (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. III), edited by J. F. Fleet.

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H. I. L.	....	History of Indian Literature, by A. Weber.
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H. O.	....	History of Orissa, 2 Vols., by R. D. Banerji.
H. P. K.	....	History of the Pallavas of Kanchi by R. Gopalan.
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H. T.	....	History of the Tamils, by P. T. Srinivas Iyengar.
I. A.	....	The Indian Antiquary.
I. C.	....	Indian Culture (Journal of the Indian Research Institute).

I. C.	The Indus Civilization, by Ernest Mackay.
I. C. I. C.	Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, by B. R. Chatterji.
I. C. in J. & S.	Indian Culture in Jāvā and Sumātrā.
I. G. I.	Imperial Gazetteer of India.
I. H. Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. J.	India and Jāvā, by B. R. Chatterji.
I. L. C. F. E.	Indian Literature in China and the Far East, by P. K. Mukerji.
I. P.	India's Past, by A. A. Macdonell.
I. P. P. A.	Indian Pre-historic and Protohistoric Antiquities, by Bruce Foote.
I. R. B. R.	Itsing's Records of the Buddhist Religion, translated into English by J. Takakusu.
J. A. H. R. S.	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
J. A. S. B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. A. S. B., N. S.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series.
J. B. B. R. A. S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. B. O. R. S.	Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society.
J. D. L.	Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta University).
J. I. H.	Journal of Indian History.
J. R. A. S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
K. B.	The Kādambarī of Bāṇa, translated into English by C. M. Ridding.
K. Br.	Kauśītaki Brāhmṇa.
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M. .... Mahāvamsa. Text and translation by M. Geiger.
M. A. R. .... Mysore Archaeological Reports.
M. A. S. I. .... Memoirs of the Archaelogical Survey of India.
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O. H. I. .... Oxford History of India, by V. A. Smith.
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R. ... Rājataraṅgiṇi by Kalhaṇa.
Ram. ... Rāmāyaṇa.
R. I. ... Rig-Vedic India, Vol. I, by A.C. Das,
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R. V. ... Rig-veda.
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S. Br. ... Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

S. C. H. A. .... Studies in Cōla History & Administration, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

S. I. I. ... South Indian Inscriptions.

S. I. M. H. ... Studies in Indo-Muslim History by S. H. Hodīvālā.

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S. P. ... Schoff's Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.

T. F. ... The Travels of Fa-hsien, Eng. Trans. by H. A. Giles.

W. E. ... The Wonders of Ellora, by Capt. J. B. Seely.

Note on Transliteration and Diacritical marks.

The following values have been adopted in transliteration.

आ = ā	ङ् = ṅ	ड् = ḍ	ष = ṣ
ई = ī	च् = c	ण् = ṇ	स = s
ऊ = ū	ञ् = ñ	ळ = ḷ	
ऋ = ṛ	ट् = ṭ	श = ś	

But forms well established in usage like Cambodia, Canton, China, Yuan Chwang, Deccan, Sher Shāh, Trichinopoly, Peshāwar, etc., have been retained.

Ed.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES IN RELATION TO HISTORY.

Natural Regions. The habitable parts of India consist of four natural regions (1) the plateau of the Deccan which has been worn down for many millenniums into steep hills and the rugged land around them (2) the forest region below the hills, watered by the upper reaches of the rivers that flow from the Deccan hill-tops to the sea, (3) the lower courses of rivers where facilities for irrigation exist in abundance, and (4) the long strips of the sea-coast in the east and the west. Hence in early Tamil literature the country was called *Nānilam*, the fourfold land, the four regions being called Kuṟiñji, Mullai, Marudam, and Neydal respectively. Besides these four chief regions, each of which has supported a teeming population, with a culture peculiar to each, there are two more, the mountainous country skirting the Himālayan and Hindu Kush ranges, and stray patches of desert land, on which have grown special types of Indian humanity, peculiar to the physical characteristics of those regions.

The three great natural regions of Europe produced in ancient times three "races," each characterized by a culture dependent on the geographical traits of the region where it grew. Thus the Mediterranean culture evolved around the coast of the Mediterranean sea, the Alpine culture was conditioned by the special characteristics of the continuous mountain belt extending from the Pyrenees to the Caucasus, and the Nordic culture was the result of the influence of the vast steppe region of Northern Europe. So, too in India, four types of human

culture arose in the four natural regions referred to above. Thus the hunter-nomad stage of human development grew in the plateau of the Deccan, the pastoral in the wooded regions, the piscatorial in the littoral tracts and the agricultural in the river-valleys. Though in modern times there has been a blending of these stages of culure throughout the country, on account of the age long migrations of the people from one part of the country to the rest, still traces of the ancient stages of developments can be found in the heart of the hill-country and the forest-regions, as well as amongst the lowest strata of the population in the other tracts. People among whom such traces are found to-day are generally called 'aborigines' though there is no real reason to suppose that such people alone are entitled to be regarded as indigenous.

Plateau of the Deccan was covered till comparatively recent times with the thick jungle of Daṇḍakāraṇya and in the edge of the forest, where its fringes met the sandy maritime region, can be picked up today, specimens of the rough stone tools of quartzite shingle, which were made by the earliest Indian men. The site of this plateau is one of the earliest parts of the land surface of the earth. Long, very long before the old stone tools were manufactured by men, its surface cracked and a steady current of lava from the bowels of the earth flowed out and covered almost the whole of the Deccan. Pieces of the trap rock produced from this outflow were used for making the well-polished tools of the new stone age. The Kuṛavas, the modern South Indian representatives of the ancient hill-men are still expert masons. The Kirātas, mentioned in the Vedas, the Epics, and Purāṇas, are North Indian analogues of the Kuṛavas. In later times was discovered in the hill country the method of extracting iron from the iron-ore which abounds in South India, and from ancient

days till very recent times Indian iron and steel were prized very much throughout the world. Even to-day steel of excellent quality is produced in the interior of the Deccan in small quantities.

The Coast line of India, though not much indented, is very extensive. The people of the coast called Paradavars in Tamil, have from very early times been expert fishermen and daring sailors. They rowed and sailed in their frail canoes, catamarans and coracles to far countries, at first hugging the coast, and, later, when they had discovered the steady monsoon-winds, across the 'black water'. Numerous small seaports studded the coast, east, south, and west, till the rise of the mammoth harbours of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras in the XIX century reduced them to the position of mere fishing villages. But the people still retain their sailing traditions and furnish foreign shipping companies with hardy lascars. Besides boat-building the ancient Paradavars were manufacturers of salt, which along with salted fish they supplied to the interior of the country.

The upper reaches of rivers form the forest region where the pastoral stage of culture arose. The abundance of pasture was the stimulus for the development of this stage of culture. Pastoral life in ancient India attained a stability which it did not in the steppe region of Northern Asia. There where the grass of one spot has been eaten up by the herd, the tribe migrates to the next region and so on, and hence the people live in tents. But the fertility of the soil of India enabled herdsmen to get a perpetual supply of fodder; hence they built huts, tended cattle and supplied milk aud milk products to other regions; besides, they raised dry crops, an important item in the foodstuffs of vegetarian India. Pastoral life led to the evolution of the joint family system and the

rule of the household by a patriarch. The institution of the patriarch led to that of the tribal king.

In the lower valleys of rivers arose agriculture in the beginning of neolithic period, as it is testified to by numerous finds of stone-tools required for raising 'wet crops' and using cereals for food. Just beyond the edges of the river-valleys lies the vast cotton-soil of the Deccan, made up of the detritus of the trap rock mixed with decaying vegetation and washed down by the monsoon rains. This is the home of cotton-plant and the men of this region early in new stone age invented the spinning into long thread of fibres of cotton and weaving it into cloth. Agriculture and weaving produced a surplus of wealth in grain and cloth, which necessitated their being stored in houses, with a view to being bartered for the articles produced in other regions, especially the dry crops of the forest region. Hence arose cities where the rivers leave the upper courses and debouch into the plains. In the agricultural regions, the tribal king evolved into the territorial king. Hence the ancient kingdoms of the North and the South of India lay in the river-valleys. Thus Kosala was in the valley of the Sarayu, Magadha of the Son and Cōḷa of the Kāvēri. By far most important to Indian History have been the river-valleys. The greatest of them is the vast Indo-Gangetic plain, which has been built up by the rich alluvium deposited by the Sindhu and the Gaṅgā, and their numerous tributaries and branches, for thousands of years. The thickness of the silt in this plain is in some places up to 800 feet. On this plain grew the great ancient civilization to which the Vedas bear witness. Here Sanskrit, which is the vehicle of the largest and most comprehensive of the literatures of the world, was perfected. The gorgeous fire rites of the Āryas were celebrated in this region-called Āryāvarta by the old Indian sages, the Ṛṣis. Magnificent

cities–Pratiṣṭhāna (Prayāga, Allahabad), Kāśī (Benares), Indraprasta, Kurukṣetra have given undying fame to this region. Today, as in the past, this is one of the most thickly peopled parts of the earth. The other well-known river-valleys of India are those of the Mahānadī, the craddle of the culture of Kaliṅga, of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, where Telugu culture grew, and of the Kāvēri and the Vaigai where was nurtured the great, ancient civilization of the Tamils in many respects different from that of the Āryas of the Indo-Gangetic plain.

The rivers of India have frequently changed their course and this has profoundly affected the course of Indian history. Thus Hastināpura, the greatest capital of the Bharatas, was washed away by the Gaṅgā and this led to the formation of the joint Kuru-Pañchâla realm. Pāṭaliputra was built in the angle formed by the confluence of the Son and the Gaṅgā; but the modern city is 12 miles below the confluence, and the city of Aśoka is burried 20 feet below the river alluvium. Ancient rivers like the Sarasvatī and the Hakra have disappeared. But by far the most restless of Indian rivers is the Sindhu with its tributaries; ancient cities on its banks have either disappeared or are found burried in sand at a great distance from the modern course of the river.

The Coast of India, too, has been subject to slow subsidence and upheaval on a small scale. This fact is enshrined in the legends of Paraśurām's recovery of the Koṅkaṇ coast to enable his followers to settle therein and in Tamil stories of the sea, swallowing the town of South Madurai, the ancient Pāṇḍya capital. This fact also explains the disappearance of several Cēra ports, the retreat inland of Tāmralipti (Tamluk), Koṛkai and Káyal and the destruction of the famous Tamil ports of Kōḍikkarai (point Calemere), Kāyērippaṭṭanam, and Māmallapuram.

The Vindhyan and Satpura ranges stretch entirely across India from west to east. V. A. Smith says that they form a "great barrier of jungle-clad hills, which shut off the Deccan from Hindustan;" [1] but it is not right to infer from this fact that India South of the Vindhyas was a " well-marked territorial compartment, " which " has had a distinct, highly complex story of its own, with little or no point of contact " with that of North India.[2] On the contrary in the pre-Vedic period, as well as in the Vedic period and later, there was sufficient intercourse between the cis-Vindhyan and trans-Vindhyan regions to justify the treatment of the history of India as that of one geographical unit.[3]

The giant Northern barrier of India consists of the ranges of the Himālayas, the Kārakoram and the Hindu Kush. On the southern fringe of this barrier there have always existed great kingdoms, partaking of the culture of India and influencing the course of its history. They are the ancient Gāndhāra, Kaśmīr, Nepāl and Assām. Of these Gāndhāra became separated from India in the X century, since when it has been off and on an independent state. The Northwestern boundary of Ancient India almost coincided with the present Eastern boundary of Persia; but now-a-days India stops with its present North-western frontier province, and the Khaibar, Bolan and other passes between Afghanistān and India are called " the gates of India. " On the north, India communicates with Chinese Turkestan and Tibet through the passes on the Hindu Kush and the Kārakoram. Through these ancient trade passed, and the culture of India travelled to the great Chinese Empire, as well as to Bactria. The mountainous tracts of Northern India have been the

1. E. H. I., p. 6
2. O. H. I., pp. ii – iii.
3. H. T., Chaps. II, IV and VI.

nurseries of the most martial races of India, such as the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Pathāns, and the Rājpūts. Equal to these in military ardour are the Marāthās whose breeding places are the hills of the Western Ghāts.

The desert is one more, but a comparatively minor, natural region of India. The Great Indian Desert has played a distinct part in the history of India. It has been the refuge of royal dynasties and their subjects, who have preferred independence to gilded slavery. Hence it has become the home of several Rājpūt states. The sandy soil does not repay the trouble of cultivation; hence, as the great traders of Western Asia, the Hebrews and the Arabs, were nurtured by the Arabian and Syrian deserts, so the people of Mārwār and Gujarāt have become the great traders of India; and on a smaller scale, the sandy tracts of south India have bred the Nāṭṭukkōṭṭai Chettis of the south.

CHAPTER II.

THE OLD STONE AGE.

When first man arose is a matter of dispute. Modest estimates fix the time as a hundred thousand years ago; extravagant estimates as ten million years ago. Two palaeolithic tools have been discovered in direct association with the bones of extinct animals—one in the gravels of the Narmadā valley, and the other, of the upper Godāvarī valley; and "the formation of the gravels in which these instruments were discovered may have commenced some 400,000 years ago"[1]

Rough stone tools, made of quartzite rock have been found in various places in South India, and they are indisputable evidence of the presence of man in those places in far off days. So far such tools have been discovered as the result of casual search; but yet they have been found in some abundance in the Kaḍapā and Karnūl districts, in the coastal regions of the Guṇṭūr, Nellore, Chingleput and North Arcot districts and in the Southern Marāthā country. These tools were made by chipping; they show considerable skill in shaping but are not polished. Ten distinct forms of tools have been noted—axes, spearheads, digging tools, round hurling stones (the prototype of Viṣṇu's *Cakram*), choppers, knives, scrapers, cores, hammer-stones and strike-a-lights. They had wooden tools also, chiefly the club, made of hard wood from the forests and provided with heavy heads and sharp points, such as can be seen in the hands of minor and major gods even today. They wielded besides the bow and the arrow, the former being a split piece of the bamboo and the latter, probably a long thorn or pointed stick. With these tools they hunted wild animals, for primitive Indians were nomad-hunters and their conti-

1. C. P. A. I. M., p. 2.

-nued existence on the earth depended on the skill with which they killed their animal foes such as tigers, panthers, wild buffaloes and elephants. Their skill with the bow has been inherited by their representatives—the jungle-folk who are employed as *shikāris* in big game hunting.

The food of early men consisted of fruits, nuts and tubers, obtained by the use of stone knives and diggers. Soon they added to their dietary the flesh of the animals which they hunted. They used choppers and scrapers for the purpose.

The invention of fire was the greatest achievement of the palæolithic Indian. He must have watched the bamboos of the forest rub against one another when the wind blew strong and thus take fire; thence he reached the idea of making fire by friction. He lighted his fire by boring in wood with a sharp wooden or stone tool or by striking a piece of shaped flint against another—methods even now used by forest-tribes for making fire for secular purposes and by Brāhmaṇas for lighting the sacred sacrificial fire. Fire-drills of wood are stocked even to-day in the houses of Brāhmaṇas who keep the Vedic fire-rite and stone-drills can be picked up from the ground in the jungle tracts.

The life of the nomad was the norm in the early palaeolithic age; it was only at about the end of the period that the old stone age man began to live in huts and congregate in settlements. In the earlier periods he wandered about in herds in search of food or shingle for his tools. He did not bury his dead; they were probably abandoned to the natural agencies of destruction. Abandoning the dead is one of the forms of the disposal of corpses mentioned in the Vedas and exposure of the dead

persists to-day among the Parsees and the Tibetans, and, in stray cases, is met with in Indian history till comparatively recent times.

Dress. The hides of the animals which formed the principal game of early stone age men, especially of the tiger and the deer, scraped clean and dried in the sun, were sometimes worn, probably at first as a trophy and then as dress. Gradually the hide-dress acquired the sanctity of ancient custom and to-day hide is used as a holy seat during occasions of communion with God and bits of it are worn during some religious rites as a mark of personal holiness. Woman wore garlands of leaves and flowers, probably at first for adorning the person and later on as a mark of modesty—a custom still prevalent among jungle-folk. Tree-flay was also worn and, under the name of "bark-dress," is still the sign of asceticism.

The speech of Palaeolithic India must have been, like all primitive forms of speech, broken up into various dialects. What it was like, it is not possible to say with certainty; but probably it was the ancestral form of the dialects prevailing among the Savaras, the Sonthālis and other modern representatives of the Old Stone Age men, who have been squeezed into the inhospitable forests which still surround the Vindhyan hill-system on the north and the south. They are called Mundāris by European scholars; but the ancient Sanskrit name Niṣāda is a much better appellation for these people, who are still practically in the hunter-stage of human evolution, and for the dialects they speak.

Artistic skill characterized man from the earliest times; but very few of the drawings and paintings of the Palaeolithic Indians have been so far discovered. The facts that they possessed burins or graving tools, that

they used pendants made of teeth, and that they possessed pigments and clay-schists of several shades of tints, how-ever, prove that they ought to have made artistic products, which have probably been destroyed by white ants and other agencies of destruction.[1]

The religious instinct, also, distinguished man, even of the most savage variety, from the brute beast. The stone age man no doubt sacrificed to his guardian spirits, who resided in hills and streams, trees and shrubs, cocks, goats, cattle and even fellow human beings and all that they held dear, for such sacrifices still exist in the lower-most strata of Indian religious life not only in towns and villages, but also in the interiors of the hilly and jungly tracts. These local divinities were both male and female, and were in later Hinduism, absorbed in the Hindu pantheon, either in their own proper persons or as petty, local manifestations of the greater gods. These sacrifices, including the human sacrifice, were elaborated into grand rites in the Vedic age; but the primitive forms of the rites are still followed by the Niṣādas of Central India and the "lower castes" elsewhere and are not quite despised by the "higher castes" in times of distress. Besides village and other local gods, there must have been many tribal totems; numerous tribes with animal names occur in the legends embedded in Sanskrit literature and many tribes named after trees exist even to-day. Speci-mens of the latter are Iruḷar, Vēlar, etc. If Vānaras, Garudas, Tittiris, etc., are understood to be totem-names, much of the fantastic tales of the Itihāsas and Purāṇas will turn out to be genuine ancient tribal history. Of these tribes the Nāgas were the most widely diffused. They existed in the North East and the North West of India, as well as in Central and Southern India. Their

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1. S. A. I. pp. 19-20.

serpent-cult has not only left everywhere in the country, innumerable stone serpent-images even now worshipped, but, their cult has been absorbed by Śiva, Viṣṇu and other deities. So, too, have tree cults, river cults, and hill-cults been assimilated with the worship of these greater gods of a later age. The past lives in the present much more than we imagine and the story of Indian beliefs has been one of continuous process of growth and syncretism, which shows no signs of decay even now.

The population in Palæolithic times was mostly confined to India South of the Vindhyan system where alone palaeolithic tools occur. Even there it was not dense, if we may judge from the paucity of the unpolished stone tools discovered up-to-date. A nomad life and dependence on a casual food-supply is not favourable to the growth of a large population. Till the forests were cleared and permanent settlements were established, a dense population could not have arisen. No skeletons of Palæolithic Indians have yet been discovered; till they are, the problem of their racial affinities cannot be solved.

The Palæolithic people were squeezed out of the more easily habitable parts of South India into the heart of the forests that cover both sides of the Vindhyan range as well as into Ceylon. The former have benefited to a small extent by contact with the advanced cultures of the rest of India. The latter, who went to Ceylon, probably on rafts, are in a more primitive stage of culture than the former. They are the Veḍḍas of Ceylon, who have lost their original tongue and adopted Tamil or Singhalese, but retain more of their original characters than the 'aborigenes' of the Vindhyan plateau. In one respect they differ from their ancient Indian forefathers, in that the furious rains of Ceylon have driven them to reside in thousands of caves, whereas the Indian palæoli-

thic people lived out in the open. Otherwise they follow ancient customs almost dead among the primitive people of India. Palæolithic stone implements of quartzite, similar to those of India, have been discovered in their haunts. They wear leaf-garments and glass beads, shell and ivory bangles like their *Kuṛavar* cousins of India. Like them they have adopted the axe-heads, glass and brass bangles and the huts of a later culture, but otherwise they retain their ancient customs. They have not risen above the hunter and the fisherman stages of culture. The axe and the bow are their chief weapons, and they make bowstrings out of strips of the inner barks of trees. They make fire by striking a flint on axeheads or rubbing dry sticks against each other. Hunting, fishing and honey-gathering are their chief occupations, and dogs, their only domesticated animals. Their food consists of yams, honey, fish and the flesh of the pig and the deer. They do not usually bury their dead. They cannot count, having no idea of number. They worship besides local spirits, the hill-god, the sea-god, the great goddess, and the guardian god, *Aiyanār*, whom Āryan mythology came to call *Sāsta* and turned into *Hariharaputra*, the son of S'iva and Viṣṇu, the latter turning temporarily into a woman for the purpose. The dancing-priest assists at their primitive worship. So a correct picture of later Indian palæolithic life can be obtained from a study of that of the Veḍḍas of Ceylon.

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW STONE AGE.

The use of polished tools made of trap-rock as well as the large variety of the tools used is the chief characteristic of the neolithic age. Different types of stone celts, chisels, adzes, anvils, corn-crushers, mealing-stones, net-sinkers, mortars and pestles, slick-stones, stone-vessels, tally-stones, palettes for rouge, phalli, buttons, pendants and fire-drills have been found in neolithic sites and they mark the great advance in civilization made by Indian man in this epoch. Numerous celt-factories of this age have been found from which tools in various stages of manufacture have been picked up. One such factory exists on the Kapgaḷḷu or Peacock's hill near Bellary. The neolithic artisan was very particular in the selection of stones for making tools with; the use of different varieties of selected stone implies the prevalence of an extensive system of barter and probably the development of a special caste devoted to stone work. Since many neolithic sites are also palæolithic sites we may infer that the latter age passed into the former without any catastrophe intervening.

The domestication of animals and plants was the first great achievement of the new stone Age. The dog had probably been tamed in the previous age for purposes of hunting. In this age it became the guardian of the flocks of goats and sheep, and cows and buffaloes, which were domesticated and tended in the upper parts of river-valleys in this age. Here plants were also domesticated and what are called 'dry crops,' i.e. the pulses and millets were raised. The fields were watered either by the timely rains or by means of waterlifts, which

were long bamboo-poles to which were attached leather-buckets. The forests were cleared chiefly by means of fire for the purpose of increasing the supply of cultivable land. There are several references in the Rig Veda which show that the custom of destroying forests by conflagration persisted down to the Vedic Age. "Urged by the wind, he rushes through the wood like a bull lording it over a herd of cows," "Driven by the wind, he invades the forests, and shears the hairs of the earth," "When he has yoked his red, wind-driven horses to his car, he bellows like a bull, and invades the forest-trees with his flames; the birds are terrified at the noise when his grass-devouring sparks arise."[1]

In the lower river-valleys the easy slope of the land enabled the farmers to resort to irrigation by means of artificial channels and raise 'wet-crops', chiefly rice. These grains were propagated by means of seeds. Other plants were also domesticated, like the mango, the sugar-cane, the plantain, the sweet-potato, etc. Some of these were propagated by means of suckers and tubers. The names of these products of the neolithic age belong to the earlier strata of the Tamil language. The mealing-stones, mortars and pestles and corn-crushers testify to the wide spread of agricultural operations in that age.

The invention of pottery was another achievement of neolithic times. Pottery was used for storing water and grains, for cooking and for burying the dead. At first earthenware was burnt in open fires; then kilns were constructed for the purpose.[2] The fast colouring of the surface is one distinguishing feature of neolithic pottery. The earthenware was either plain or decorated.

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[1] R.V. i. 58. 4, 5; i. 65.4; i. 94.10.

[2] I. P. P. A. p. 35.

The former was rough or smooth, polished or painted. Decorations on the pottery were impressed, moulded or incised.[1] Urns, vases, bowls, figurines, *lotas*, *chattis*, *hookahs*, cups, spouted vessels, lamps and libation-vessels were some of the forms of earthenware in use.

Weaving in cotton and wool was another industry of the neolithic age. No more evidence of this is required than the presence of 'slick-stones,' tools used for making the surface of cloth glossy. Woolen rugs, called *Kambaḷis*, were woven in the pasture-land from the wool of the short variety of sheep, called in Tamil *Kuṛumbāḍu*, by the people called *Kuṛumbar*, who still inhabit such regions in South India and pursue their ancient occupation. The cotton weavers of the cotton-districts wove long pieces of cotton-cloth and wound them, the women round their person, and the men chiefly round their heads. These garments were often dyed yellow, red or indigo, the words for 'dye' generally and these colours in particular being some of the earliest of the Tamil language.

Love of Decoration not only of the person but of every article in use has always been a characteristic of the Indians and the unfailing expression of their irrepressible artistic instincts. The neolithic Indian decorated his person not only with cloth, dyed or undyed, but also with beads and buttons of bones and shell and bangles and pendants of ivory and other similar material. The ladies made themselves attractive also by special styles of hair-dressing. Some of these were so elaborate that they went to sleep with neck-rests so as not to disturb the decoration of their hair.[2] Neolithic men were clever artists. They covered the walls and roofs of caves with

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1 *Ib.* p. 30.

2 I. P. P. A. p. 6.

rough drawings in ruddle or haematite.[1] Hunting scenes among others, formed the subject of these drawings. It has been already pointed out that neolithic pottery was decorated with designs; the potters made, besides, figurines, elephant-shaped funeral vases, and representations of natural objects in clay. Decoration was the chief motive of art-work then as it is to-day among the work-men who pursue the traditional methods.

Trade by barter was prevalent in this epoch, as has been already referred to. The products of no one region could satisfy all the wants of the people of that region, nor could they be disposed of in the region where they were produced. Tamil literature of a very much later age reflects the commerce of this epoch when it refers to the salt of the sea-coast being transported in carts right up to the hill-tracts, which exported honey to the other regions and to the barter of dry crops for wet crops. This latter exchange must have been on a considerable scale, for towns arose just where the 'dry' and the 'wet' regions met, e.g. Uṟaiyūr (now Trichinopoly), Madurai and Karūr, Dhanakaṭaka, Mathurā and Puruṣapura (Peshāwar). The carts above referred to could not have been dissimilar to the creaking country carts which yet ply throughout the country.

Houses arose as a result of the settled life where the people produced more than they could consume and the necessity arose for storing grains and cloth with a view to barter. The first houses were no doubt huts, like those that can be seen in plenty to-day in villages, small and round, the walls being made of wattle and clay, the roof of the plaited leaves of the cocoanut tree or the unplaited ones of the palmyra spread on a framework of the trunks of either and of bamboos and topped by a broken pot to

1 C. P. A. I. M. p. 4.

hold the rafters together. This was the origin of the domical roof of temples and the brass-pot (*kalaśam*) on the top. In the hilly country the people lived on naturally fortified hills, or on summits provided with a thorny hedge, similar to a Zareba. Chiefs probably lived in houses built of timber. Brick and roofing tiles came into use in comparatively recent times.

The burial of the dead was wide-spread during the new stone-age. The burial sites were not far from the village. The dead person was either interred in round pits or placed in urns and buried along with his tools and a tray of food-stuffs, to serve his needs in his postmortem life. The urn was then filled with sand, an earthenware lid placed on it, the whole let down into a grave, into which sand was thrown and on which was placed a large stone slab; then a number of upright stones were planted round. The burial-urn was varied in size, the largest so far unearthed, measuring four feet across the broadest part. In the later neolithic age, another type of grave was introduced probably by Egyptian immigrants. This was furnished with rectangular stone walls and divided into two compartments by a stone wall with a hole in the centre. Similar graves are also found in countries outside India, throughout Europe, right up to Britain. This and the resemblance of neolithic terracotta coffins of India to those of Etruria, and of the ornamentation on the new stone age Indian vessels to Trojan ones, e.g. the *svastika,* prove that there was intercourse between India and the rest of the world in those ancient days.

Different dialects of the family of languages, now called Dravidian, were spoken throughout the country in this age. On the dialects spoken in the North of the Vindhyas, was, in later times, imposed the Sanskrit

language and its prestige as the language of the Gods weighed so heavily on them, that the relationship of those dialects, now called Gauḍian, to the South Indian ones, has been much obscured. The vocabulary of the Gauḍian dialects is mostly derived from Sanskrit; some of the dialects have borrowed along with Sanskrit nouns their grammatical genders; Sanskrit words, like *madhyē* decayed into *mē*, have become postpositions in these dialects. But yet their old relationship to the South Indian dialects is traceable in that (1) a considerable portion of their vocabulary is *dēśi*, i.e. non-Sanskritic and (2) the fundamental structure of the North and the South Indian languages is the same in the following important particulars. Nouns are inflected not as in Sanskrit but by means of separate and separable post-fixed particles added to the oblique form of the noun; the plural inflexion is formed by annexing to the unvarying sign of plurality the same case-suffixes as those by which the singular is inflected; the occurrence in several of the Northern idioms of two pronouns of the first person plural, the one including, the other excluding, the person addressed; the use of post-positions instead of prepositions; the situation of the relative sentence before the indicative; the situation of the governing word after the governed; the use of the verb-root as the imperative; the mode of formation of the interrogative; the three cases of the noun as opposed to the seven of Sanskrit; the four tenses of verbs—the past, the present, the future, and the indefinite as opposed to the ten of Sanskrit; the lack of the true passive voice, and specially in the case of intransitive verbs so frequent in Sanskrit; the piling of participle on participle to make a compound sentence; the formation of idiom; and the fixed order of words in sentences and the ease with which sentences of one dialect can be translated into another by the mere substitution of word for word. In all these

points the Gauḍian dialects are allied not to Sanskrit but to the South Indian ones, and this proves that throughout the whole of India, before the arrival of Sanskrit, dialects of the Dravidian family of language were spoken.

The possible foreign origin of the Dravidian people, who formed the bulk of the population of ancient India, and their entry into the country by the North-west or the North-east, have been the subjects of wild speculation among some writers. The arguments on which this speculation is based are twofold; first, the resemblance in features between modern South Indians and ancient Sumerians, and secondly, the existence in the Brāhui dialect of Balochistān of some words allied to Dravidian words. The former fact, which will be discussed in the next chapter, may be explained by an emigration in ancient times by land or more probably by sea of people from India to Mesopotamia. The latter is easily explained by the fact that Dravidian speaking people were spread all through India before the rise of Sanskrit. The theory of the foreign origin of the South Indian people is full of difficulties. First, India was always a fertile country and must have supported a teeming population in ancient as in modern times. It could not have been a vacuum waiting to be peopled by foreigners. Secondly, the wide occurence of neolithic tools proves that the country was fairly well-populated in that age. Thirdly, the most ancient stratum of the Tamil language shows that it was the tongue of a neolithic people; it contains words of its own to name not only neolithic tools, but also the products of the neolithic age, cereals, pulses, as also the vegetables and animals of that period, e. g. rice, ragi, the plantain, the mango, the sheep, the cow, the buffalo, the pig, the elephant, the tiger, etc. The Dravidian speaking people developed a culture much higher than that of the earlier palæolithic men, and pushed them into the mountainous

and jungle-clad interior of the country; these latter people are by some called aborigines, whereas both are equally autochthonous.

Gods, characteristic of each of the five natural regions, were evolved in this age, in addition to the local guardian deities and the totemistic objects of worship of the different tribes coming down from the earlier epoch. In northern India after the rise of the Ārya cult these regional gods were absorbed with more or less change into the Ārya pantheon; but as Tamil India resisted the intrusion of Āryan ideas till a comparatively recent epoch, in early Tamil literature we can get glimpses of the Pre-Āryan Gods and recover the Tamil names of some of them. Thus the god of the hill region was the Śēyōn i.e. the Red God, also called Murugan, a great hunter, the wielder of the Vēl (spear), the patron and exemplar of lovers and was propitiated by means of devil-dances (veṛiyāṭṭam). The god of the pastoral tracts was Māyōn, the Black God who played on the flute and constantly made love to the herds-women. The Sea-god, symbolized by the shark's tooth was worshipped by fishermen whom he protected from the dangers incidental to a fishing and sea-faring life. The Sky-god was worshipped by the ploughmen; he sent them timely rains and like his worshippers spent his leisure-time in lovers' quarrels and reconciliations. The fierce Goddess of Victory (Koṛṛavai) was the deity of the warriors and marauders of the sandy regions. From the fact "that Dravidian languages were actually flourishing [even] in the western regions of Northern India at the period when languages of the Indo-European type were introduced into the country,"[1] it may be inferred that these regional gods or others similar to them were worshipped in the regions appropriate to them during the neolithic times in Northern India also.

1. C. H. I, I. pp. 41-42.

Śiva was the Red Hunter God of the Himalayan region, his seat Kailasa hill being still in that region; he manifested himself, according to later legend as a *Kirāta* (hunter), and his name was translated into the Vedic tongue as Rudra. Viṣṇu was the sky-god and underwent various mutations.[1] Kṛṣṇa, the god of the pastoral region, became one of his *avatāras*. The numerous goddesses, worshipped throughout India, were in later times amalgamated into one mother-goddess and also became wives of the members of the *Trimūrti*, when that concept was reached late in the first millennium B. C. Finds of stone phalli in ancient neolithic settlements prove that the emblem of male energy was also worshipped in early times.[2] The worshippers of the phallus are referred to in certain Vedic hymns. In much later times this worship was amalgamated with that of Śiva. Trees, rivers and animals were continued to be worshipped by various tribes.

Magic and religion were inextricably intertwined in those early ages. Primitive man did not differentiate between constraining the powers of nature and appealing to their grace. This magic included primitive choral singing and dancing, as well as drinking intoxicating liquors in groups. Though these three human activities have become secularized in civilized times, the primitive habit, inspired by the herd-instinct, of singing, dancing and drinking in company in secular as well as religious occasions, still sticks to man. Other magic rites also existed. Of these there is a singular piece of evidence. In neolithic times the *Svastika* mark was used, even in Troy.[3] This *Svastika*, widely used even today as a magical mark, was to the ancients not an experiment in time-drawing, but a mark intended to constrain the deities

1. S. A. I. p. 52.
2. S. A. I. p. 49.
3. S. A. I. p. 43.

to look with an auspicious eye on the person or thing bearing it. Numerous magical rites are now practised by the lowest of the low in the forests far from the haunts of man throughout India and they have all come down almost unchanged from the neolithic times. From these were developed the Tāntrika rites of later times, such as have choked Buddha's ethical teachings out of Buddhism and constitute today the esoteric rites of the Śaiva cult and most especially of Śākta cult. These are practised in secret throughout India but very much in Bengal and Tibet. Similar rites in their pristine simplicity obtain today amongst the Savaras of the Vindhyan region. On certain occasions the Savara men and women gather in the heart of the forest, slay several buffaloes, of course with magical rites, boil the flesh in huge earthenware cauldrons, eat it in a herd, drink the powerful spirits distilled from the *Mahua* flower, dance their primitive dances, sing their primitive songs and indulge in unimaginable sexual orgies, and no man outside their herd is allowed to witness these religio-magical and to them sacred, practices. My information is derived from a retired professor of history, who has worked for the amelioration of the Savaras and whom, out of gratitude, they allowed to see this religious festival of theirs. Similar practices must have prevailed in neolithic times.

When the neolithic age began and ended there is no evidence to show. It must have ended before 6,000 B. C. because at Mohenjō Dārō in the valley of the Sindhu have been unearthed traces of chalcolithic culture which flourished five or six millenniums ago. 10,000 B. C. is perhaps a very low estimate for the beginning of that age; but considering that progress in culture must have been extraordinarily slow in ancient times, 20,000 B. C. cannot be considered to be an extravagant date for the time when polished tools were first invented and the arts

of agriculture and weaving began. But these dates are all a matter of speculation and no more.

The past dwells very much in the present in India, where the spirit of conservatism has a powerful hold on the minds of the people. Tools of the stone age are still used by the people and are considered to be unpollutable whereas metal tools can be polluted by touch. The stone mortars and wooden pestles, the stone corn-grinders and mealing troughs, stone-slabs and rollers for grinding curries, the bamboo bows and balls of clay used for shooting, the stick with a circular stone-weight with which the thread for the *Yajñopavita* is spun, and many other implements have come down to us from the lithic epoch and are holy because they are old.

CHAPTER IV.

IRON AND COPPER.

The Stone Age in South India quietly passed into the Iron age. This occurred long before the Āryas of North India came into any kind of contact with South India. This is proved by the fact that the Tamil names for iron (and gold, silver, and copper which were discovered soon after) and for metal generally, belong to the epoch before Sanskrit began to influence Tamil.[1] Another and a stronger proof consists in the fact that even to-day in South India workers in genuine indigenous iron and steel are the hill-tribes who live in the interior far beyond the line reached by the most advanced waves of Ārya influence. As Foote has remarked, the iron industry of South India "is one of great antiquity (far greater indeed than in Europe, e. g. at Hallstat or La Tene)".[2] Tools of various shapes have been recovered from the graves of this period, which are more or less like those used in India to-day.

Very durable pottery was produced in large quantities in the early iron age. The pottery is of such a high class that the people who made it must have attained a considerable degree of civilization.[3] The pottery was of various colours, chiefly red, but also black, brown and grey. They were both polished and rough and sometimes ornamented with patterns, impressed or painted. *Lotās*, *Chattis*, spouted vessels, bowls, vases and discs are some of the forms that were produced.

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1. P. T. C., pp. 5-6
2. I. P. P. A., p. 25
3. *Ib*. p. 25

Burial continued to be the chief form of the disposal of the dead in the early Iron Age, the other being the abandoning of the dead. At Ādiccanallūr, two miles west of Śrīvaikuṇṭam in the Tinnevelly district, has been found an extensive burial site of that age. The site is higher than the surrounding country and unfit for cultivation. There below three feet of soil "the rock has been hollowed out for the urns with a separate cavity for each of them."[1] In the graves have been found articles of iron, bronze and gold and pottery. Some of the gold diadems have a strip beyond the two extremities with a small hole for a string at each end, and they were tied round the head exactly as hillmen even now-a-days tie a strip of cloth round their headful of hair. This explains why in old Tamil a diadem was called *muḍi*, 'that which is tied.' Bronze figures of the buffalo, the goat, the sheep and the cock, as also the tiger, the antelope, and the elephant, besides numerous personal ornaments have been unearthed there, showing that the Tamils of this remote epoch had attained a high degree of civilization.

The copper age succeeded the stone age in Northern India. Implements of practically pure copper have been found, among other places, in the upper Ganges valley. At Gungeriah in the Bālāghāt District has been made 'the most important discovery of instruments of copper yet recorded in the Old World'.[2] The chief of them are flat celts and crowbars with chisel-edges ('bar-celts'), and discs and bulls' heads of silver lamina, thin as paper. When the Āryan cult arose in northern India, the copper age still prevailed; hence copper is the holy metal of the Āryas. But iron tools from South India must have also spread north, for the vedic *ayas* means both copper and iron, and iron castles are spoken of in the Vedas.

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1 For a detailed deseription vide Rea's C. P. A. A.

2 C. P. A. I. M., p. 10

By far the most important copper age settlements yet excavated are those of the Sindhu Valley, at Harappa in the Panjāb and Moheñjō Dārō in Sindh. The culture revealed by the excavations at the latter place may be called the *Saindhava* culture.[1] The provisional date of 3,000 B. C. has been assigned to this culture, but it may have flourished a thousand years earlier. Brick-buildings were erected by the people in the Indus valley in those days, whereas in Southern India, which was as we have seen then in the Iron age, houses were built of wood, and bricks began to be used very much later. The *Saindhava* culture produced the following articles, "engraved seals, beads of carnelian, ivory, bone, copper, shell, crystal, terracotta, stone, faience and glass; toy figurines, balls, cylinders and cones of terracotta and shell bangles; copper chisels, chert-scrapers, pieces of mother of pearl and lead." An imposing complex of buildings has been brought to light, including a sunk "tank in the centre, surrounded at a higher level by a fenestrated corridor with a platform in front and halls or smaller chambers behind"[2] Among other antiquities are two phallic emblems, one of alabaster, the other of faience, and several rectangular pieces of copper bearing incised figures of animals and pictographic legends. Another remarkable find is the limestone head of an image. "The head, which is about three-quarters life-size, is bearded. The hair is elaborately but conventionally treated and indicated by chevrons on the top of the head; but on the large chignon simple horizontal parallel lines replace the chevrons. A narrow fillet binds the hair, running round the top of the forehead and crossing the chignon. Another line running obliquely to the fillet, across the ear and at the

1. For a detailed description of this culture vide M. I. C. or I. C.—*Ed.*

2. A. S. I. R. 1925-26., pp. 76-77.

base of the chignon, is suggestive of a second fillet, or the raised edge of a head-covering."[1] One of the buildings recovered is suggestive of a temple. We may conclude that the ancient *Saindhavas* worshipped idols in temples and were acquainted with a pictorial alphabet. They were otherwise too of a high degree of culture, gold bangles and silver ear-rings having been found in the ruins. Mutilated stone statuettes have been found, and their busts are "characterized by a stiff erect posture of the head, the neck and the chest and half-shut eyes looking fixedly at the tip of the nose,"[2] suggestive of the posture of a *yogī* practising mental exercises to gain supernatural experiences. From this the inference follows that the practice of *yoga* was a Dasyu institution which persisted during the Vedic period and again rose to prominence in the *Āgama* period (I millennium B.C.). The *Vrātyas* or wandering ascetics, similar to the Sādhus of to-day, mentioned in the Vedas were probably *Dasyu Sanyāsīs*; and the *Śiva yogīs* of the Cōḷas inscriptions of the beginning of the II century A.D. were the direct spiritual descendants of these *Vrātyas* who had Śiva among their attendants,[3] and whose remote spiritual ancestors are represented in the statuettes of Moheñjō-Dārō[4]. Traces of the tree cult and worship of pillars surmounted with figures of birds and beasts such as stand guard before modern temples, have also been found in the Sindh valley.[5]. H.R. Hall has suggested that the ancient Sumerians were Dravidian emigrants who carried ancient Indian culture with them, and the discoveries in Moheñjō Dārō tend to confirm this.[6] This emigration was proba-

1. *Ib.* pp. 81-82.
2. M.A.S.I., No. 41, p. 25.
3. L.A.I.A.M. p. 78.
4. M.A.S.I., No. 41, pp. 30-31.
5. *Ib.* p. 34.
6. H.T. pp. 37-38.

bly by sea, because according to the Sumerian legends, the God Oannes, the Man-Fish, swam up the sea taking with him the arts of civilization.

The Pre-Aryan peoples of India were highly civilized according to the testimony of the Vedic *mantras*. They inform us that the Dasyus, as they called the Pre-Āryans, "lived in cities and under kings, the names of many of whom are mentioned. They possessed 'accumulated wealth' in the form of cows, horses, and chariots, which though kept in 'hundred gated cities', Indra seized and gave away to his worshippers, the Āryas. The Dasyus were wealthy and owned property 'in the plains and on the hills.' They were 'adorned with their array of gold and jewels.' They owned many castles. The Dasyu demons and the Ārya Gods alike lived in gold, silver, and iron castles. Indra overthrew for his worshipper, Divodāsa, frequently mentioned in the hymns, a 'hundred stone castles' of the Dasyus. Agni, worshipped by the Ārya, gleaming in behalf of him, tore and burnt the cities of the fireless Dasyus. Bṛhaspati broke the stone prisons in which they kept the cattle raided from the Āryas. The Dasyus owned chariots and used them in war like the Āryas and had the same weapons as the Āryas."[1] Thus the chief difference between the Dasyus and the Āryas was one of cult and not of culture or race.[2] The Dasyus inhabited not only the districts ruled over by Dasyu kings, but must have formed the bulk of the population even of the regions ruled over by the Ārya kings. For the Ārya fire-cult was elaborate and costly and implied the use of Sanskrit *mantras*, so that its followers were always the elect few Brāhmaṇas, kings and the richer people, in fact the

1. L.A.I.A.M. p. 13 where the Vedic authority for all these statements is given.

2. For a further elucidation of this view, see the author's article in the I.A., XLII, pp. 77-83. *Ed.*

nobles (which is one of the meanings of the word *Arya*). The bulk of the people even in the Ārya districts followed the fireless methods of worship as they do to-day and continued to be Dasyus.

The Āryas in their religious and secular books have denounced the Dasyus as demons, monsters of cruelty, Asuras, Rākṣasas, Piṣacas, eaters of raw flesh, etc. But this is merely due to the animus caused by religious rivalry and by their quarrels for wealth. This denunciation of the Dasyus all the more enhances the value of the testimony of the Ṛṣis with regard to Dasyu culture, described above, and to Rākṣasa architecture (in the *Rāmāyana*) and Asura science (in the *Mahābhārata*). The Ṛṣis describe the Dasyus as Indra-less (*Anindrah*); this does not mean that the Dasyu did not worship Indra but only implies that they did not worship through Agni. In fact the term *Anindra* is often a meaningless term of abuse, for even the pink of Brahmanism like Vasiṣṭha is called *Anindra* in the vedic *mantras*.

Dialects of the pre-Āryan, i.e. Dravidian family of languages must have been spoken by the Dasyus even after Sanskrit, the *devabhāṣa*, the language of the Gods, spread in the country and that is why the North Indian 'Sanskritic dialects spoken to-day rest on a foundation of Dravidian'.

The worship of the Dasyas must have been like that of the tribes who are still outside the Āryan influence. They worshipped only one god at a time, unlike the Āryas who in one sacrificial act invited several Gods to sit on the altar on which *Kuśa* grass was bestrewn and gave each of them offerings through the burning flames, the tongues of the Fire-God who was the mouth of all the Ārya Gods. The ancient Dasyus killed their sacrificial animals, let the blood of the victims flow on their fireless altars and did

not accompany their offerings with prayers, but sang and danced as a part of their religious functions. Early Tamil poems describe the fireless rites of the Tamils of about two thousand years ago. In worshipping Murugan they put up a *pandal* (shed) with a fowl-flag on the top, daubed white mustard and *ghī*, scattered white fried rice, mixed white rice with the blood of the strong-legged ram and offered incense. They spread red flowers and panicum mixed with blood, and sang and danced.[1] This worship must have been an unbroken continuation of the rites of the most ancient Dasyus.

The words Dasyu and Dravidian are now used by modern historical writers as almost synonymous; there is nothing to object to in this, provided it is remembered that the word Dravidian used in this sense does not refer to a language, but to the homogeneous people who inhabited India before the arrival of the Ārya cult. In my *Pre-Aryan Tamil culture* and *History of the Tamils*, Chapters I, V and XIII, I have attempted to reconstruct a picture of the life of the Tamils before it became subjected to Āryan influence and the life led by the ancient Dasyus of Northern India could not have been different from that of the Tamils.

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1 H. T., p. 563.

CHAPTER V.

THE ĀRYAS

The Āryas, according to the Vedic references and the ancient and modern interpretations of Vedic terms, differed from the Dasyus only in methods of worship. One great point of difference consisted in the fact that the Āryas used the Vedic language (called the *candas* in Indian works). This language was a "caste-language", a "scholastic dialect of a class" (i.e., the priesthood), "an artificially archaic dialect, handed down from one generation to the other within the class of priestly singers"[1]. It was "a language which doubtless diverged considerably in its wealth of variant forms from the speech of the ordinary man"[2]. This language, which later developed into the *Bhāṣa* or classical Sanskrit, is the earliest member of the Indo-European family of languages, which we are acquainted with. The modern science of linguistics holds that all the members of this family have been developed from an *ursprache*, a common mother-tongue. Where this *ursprache* arose is a matter of dispute. One recent theory says that its home was the extensive grassland from the German plains to the foot of the altais. A more recent theory holds that it was the restricted region of Austria-Hungary. Previous theories made every country from France to India the primitive habitant of the first speakers of this language.[3] The only conclusion that

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1. H.S.L., p. 20.
2. C.H.I., I., p. 109.
3. Mr. N. B. Pavgee maintains that the Āryas were autochthons of Sapta-Sindhu (i.e. the land between the rivers Sarasvati and Sindhu), see A.H.; Mr. A. C. Das, while holding a similar view, tries to refute the previous theories which located the original home of the Āryas in Europe, Central Asia or the Arctic regions, see R.I., Vol. I. *Ed.*

can be drawn from this conflict of theories is that the comparative study of languages cannot lead to a solution of the problem and every story of the wanderings of the Indo-European languages cannot but be based on insufficient evidence.

The lighting of the sacred fire in all rites is another important characteristic of the Indo-Āryan cult. Numerous Vedic passages proclaim that fire is the mouth of the Gods, their tongue, the conveyor of oblations, the messenger between Gods and men, and the herald of men to summon the Gods to the sacrificer. On to the tongues of the fire-God, oblations for whatever God intended had to be poured. Being a God himself, he was their representative on earth and a permanent divine guest (*atithi*) in the homes of the Āryas[1]. This belief led, among the Āryas, to the rise of the custom of cremation, which was but the offering of the corpse of the dead to the Gods through Agni. In what region did this conception of fire as a God and as an intermediary between Gods and men arise? We can guess that it must have been in a very cold region, but there is no means of fixing on a particular spot where the fire-cult was first developed.

Soma-drinking, besides the lighting of the holy fire, was another mark of the Ārya cult, which may therefore be called 'the Agni-Soma cult.' *Soma* is a product of the Himālayan regions, so that when the cult moved down to the plains, Kirāta (huntress) girls from the Himālayan hills supplied it to Brāhmaṇas. The use of *Soma*, like the worship of Agni indicates the Himālayan region as the place where the Agni-Soma cult first originated.

The characteristics of the Vedic Gods do not help us to solve the problem. The chief, at least the most fre-

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1. O.S.T. pp. 201-203, where a large number of Vedic texts are quoted describing the functions of Agni.

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quently invoked and lauded Vedic God, is Indra; and he is peculiarly an Indian God. He is the sky God of the river-valleys, worshipped by the Dasyus from time immemorial, he who breaks with his thunderbolt the lowering clouds in the monsoon areas and compels them to pour rain on the thirsty fields. Outside India his name was unknown, except that he is twice referred to as Andra, a minor demon, not in the early Zoroastrian Gāthās but in the later Vendīdād. Hence we are driven to the conclusion that when the Ārya fire-cult spread in the great river-valleys of North India, the agricultural sky-god of the earlier Indians was absorbed by it. Viṣṇu was the highest (*uttama*) of the Vedic Gods, also unknown outside India. In the fire-cult he became the sacrificial victim of the Gods. The other Gods like Vāyu, Sūrya, Dyāvāprithvī are not peculiar to any one region and therefore cannot help us to solve the problem where the fire-cult arose, before it became the most important cult of Northern India.

How did the Ārya cult come into India? There is again a conflict of theories about this problem. The earliest theory was that it came in the wake of invaders. "By routes passing through Baluchistān on the west and Afghānistān on the North-West, the country of the Indus has been repeatedly invaded by people belonging to the Caucasian race from Western Asia. .... At the most remote period they were slow persistent movements of whole tribes, or collections of tribes, with their women and children, their flocks and herds."[1]. This theory has been invented to explain the fact that there is a special type of men "in Kashmīr, the Panjab from the Indus to about the longitude of Ambāla (76° 46″ E.), and Rājputāna. The stature is mostly tall; complexion fair; eyes dark; hair on face plentiful; head long; nose narrow

1. C.H.I., I., p. 38.

and prominent, but not specially long"[1]. This theory may be regarded as probable, if it can be proved that there existed outside India people with this particular combination of physical characteristics "at a date considerably earlier" than the period of the Ṛgveda, so much earlier that the Veda contains no indication that "they still retained the recollections of their former home." And there are several other fatal objections to the theory. The spade of the archaeologist has recently unearthed plenty of relics of an advanced Pre-Āryan culture in the Panjāb and Sindh long before the supposed time of this invasion. It is impossible that the people who owned this Saindhava culture could have vanished when this penetration of Caucasian tribes "with their women and children, their flocks and herds" took place. To the type above described the name 'Indo-Āryan' has been, for no reason, affixed, and the impossible theory of a peaceful but thorough extirpation of the previous inhabitants of the Sindhu valley has been evolved. Another difficulty in the way of accepting this theory is the way in which the 'Indo-Āryan' i.e., the Gauḍian dialects are distributed in Northern India. They radiate from a central area, the midland, 'their true pure home'; immediately outside the midland dialect come those of what has been called 'the Inner Band'—Pañjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujerātī, Pahādi and Eastern Hindī; outside these lie those of the 'Outer Band'—Kāśmīrī, Lahndā, Sindhī, Kacchī, Marāṭhī, Bihārī, Bengālī, Assamese and Oriya[2]. Such a peculiar spread of Sanskrit dialects with the midland as the centre of diffusion belies the theory of the introduction of that speech first into the Panjāb by people who so completely displaced the previous inhabitants as to preserve to this day their pure Indo-Āryan type.

1. C.H.I., I., p. 43.
2. I.G.I., I., pp. 349.f.

The double-invasion theory has been invented to meet this last difficulty. According to this theory there was a military invasion after the peaceful one, this time of men merely through the Chitrāl and Gilgit passes. This theory would make the inhabitants of the Midland represent the latest stage of Āryan immigration and their ancestors wedge themselves in the midst of the earlier immigrants. Not to speak of the difficulty of this route, there is the further improbability of a struggle between the earlier Āryas and the later Āryas, of which there is no trace of evidence in the early literature.[1].

The latest theory, based on traditions recorded in the Vedas and the Purāṇas, is that of Pargiter. According to it the Āryas brought their fire cult and the language associated with it from " the region in and beyond the middle of the Himālayas," called *Ilāvṛta*, whose inhabitants were the *Gandharvas* and the *Kimpuruṣas*. According to Indian tradition Purūravas obtained the sacrificial fire from the *Gandharvas* and first lighted the ' triple fire,, i.e., performed the first *Śrauta* sacrifices at Pratiṣṭhāna, (now Allāhābād)[2]. This theory utilizes the only recollection which the Āryas had of their original home—the mid-Himālayan region—which, and not the North-West, has always been the sacred land of the Indians. The *Mahābhārata* has a fine eulogy of this sacred land and even to-day the super-religious retire to this region for ascetic practices. This theory, besides explaining the fact that the ' Indo-Āryan languages radiate from the middle land as their centre, also explains why the supposed advance of the Āryas through the Panjāb to the East is not " reflected in the Rigveda, the bulk at least of which seems to have been composed rather in the country round the Sarasvatī

1. A.I.H.T., p. 296.
2. A.I.H.T., pp. 295-300.

river, south of the Modern Ambāla "[1]. This was because the fire-cult spread from Pratiṣṭhāna and was elaborated in the upper Gaṅgā-yamunā *doāb*. If the three-fire cult was introduced into India from the mid-Himālayan region, a solution can be reached for two puzzles, (1) where the single fire cult arose, and (2) why the Vedic poetry represents the last, perfected stage of a literature, full of metrical and other conventions, and in a conventional literary dialect, and has not the marks of hesitation and fluidity which the beginnings of poetry show in all places. The *Candas* dialect must have been perfected and the single-fire cult elaborated into a three-fire cult in the cold districts of *Ilāvṛta*, before these finished products were taken to Pratiṣṭhāna by Purūravas and his priests[2].

The theory of the entry of the Āryas through the North-west was invented to account for the intrusion of the Sanskrit language into India from the extra-Indian home of its *ursprache*. It was assumed that the speakers of it entered India in very large numbers and the only possible path by which large bodies of men could enter India was the North-West gate. Thus was arrived the theory of invasion of the Āryas through the northwest passes. Pargiter's theory assumes that the *candas* dialect 'was brought into the country by a small number of priests (*Ṛṣis*), just as Latin was taken into Anglo-Saxon Britain by christian missionaries and, like Sanskrit, stayed there as the language of culture and affected profoundly the growth of English, the only difference being that the influence of Sanskrit on the growth of the North Indian dialects was many times more profound than that of Latin on English. The theory of the entry of Sanskrit through the mid-Himālayan region into India implies that it grew

1. C.H.I., I. p. 79.
2. See A.I.H.T. *op. cit.*

there into a highly evolved literary and sacred tongue before it entered India as a finished product.

In memoir 41 of the Archaological Survey of India Mr. R. Chanda has been driven to the conclusion by a consideration of the high civilization attained by the Pre-Āryan inhabitants of the Indus valley as revealed by the excavations at Moheñjō Dārō and Harappā that "we have got to abandon the orthodox view that the upper Indus valley was wrested from the dark skinned and noseless Dāsa or Dasyu still in a state of savagery by a vigorous race of immigrants who descended from the mountains of Afghanistān. . . . The hypothesis that seems to fit best with the evidence" furnished by the excavations in the Indus valley "may be stated thus; on the eve of the Āryan immigrations the Indus valley was in possession of a civilized and warlike people. The Āryas mainly represented by the Ṛṣi clans, came to seek their fortunes in small numbers more or less as missionaries of the cults of Indra, Varuṇa, Agni and other gods of nature and settled in peace under the protection of the native rulers who readily appreciated their great merit as sorcerers and employed them to secure the assistance of the Āryan gods against their human and non-human enemies by offering sacrifices with the recitation of hymns".[2] A careful study of the Vedic *mantras*, long before the Indus valley excavations were thought of, drove me to the conclusion that "the difference between the Āryas and the Dasyus was not one of race but of cult. Nor was there any difference of culture between the Ārya and the Dasyu", and that instead of an Āryan invasion, what actually took place was "a peaceful overflow of language and culture from the table land to the plains".[1] The worship of fire arose in the cold mid-Himālayan

1. p. 25.
2. L.A.I.A.M., P. 13, and p. 106.

regions to which the original form of the *candas* dialect shifted from its previous home, if ever there was one. Then prayers in the *candas* dialect were invented, probably by a Manu, the first maker of hymns and model to all later Ṛṣis, as the latter say so often in their *mantras*. For instance Gṛtsamada says to Agni, "with thee for envoy may we speak like Manu". In time the fire-rite became divided into the single-fire (*ekāgni*) one performed in houses and the triple-fire (*tretāgni*) one done in public. The Ṛṣis crossed over to India and spread these rites in the Madhydeśa. The first public fire-rite celebrated in India was that by Purūravas at Pratiṣṭhāna. The fire-rites spread through the country, Brāhmaṇas from the beginning acting as fire priests. The *candas* dialect was called the *devabhāṣa*, because it was the language in which the worshippers appealed to the gods through fire. This dialect is too difficult to have ever served as the vernacular of the ordinary people.

That the fire-rites arose in priestly families is proved by frequent references to that fact in the Vedic *mantras*. "In several Mantras, the Aṅgirases are said to have instituted the fire-rites. . . . The Bhṛgus seem to have also been early institutors of sacrifices. . . . Manu is frequently mentioned as the institutor of fire-rites. . . Atharvā and Dadhyak were other early establishers of the fire-cult".[1] When the Ṛṣis introduced them in India, kings took to them readily for they came to believe that the rites of the Ṛṣis were more efficacious than their older Dasyu rites. This accounts for the facts that the priest-king stage of culture found everywhere in the world in the earliest phases of man's growth is totally absent in the Vedic culture and that the Ṛṣi and Brāhmaṇa priests have from the earliest part of the Vedic

1. L.A.I.A.M. p. 17.

period down to modern times enjoyed greater social (and even political) prestige than royalty. The Ṛṣis were the sole intermediaries between the gods and men then, as the Brāhmaṇas are today.

The cult thus introduced into India from the Himālayan region must have been relatively simple. The use of the Fire-God as the intermediary between men and gods and the drinking of the *soma*-juice were the elements that were imported. During the development in complexity of the rites, prexisting Indian rites were absorbed in them. Pre-Āryan Indian Gods, too, entered the Vedic pantheon. It may be taken for granted that the regional gods who were worshipped long before the rise of the Vedic cult, such as the Black-God of the pastoral tracts, those who had emblems, such as the phallus representing Śiva, and those for whose names a satisfactory Sanskrit derivation cannot be reached, such as Indra and Varuṇa (who by the by has nothing to do with greek Ouranos), were Pre-Āryan Indian gods. The Dasyu custom of religious dancing was also absorbed. *Nṛtya* (dancing) is frequently referred to in the *Samhitās*, as also various musical instruments and numerous musicians. A few Vedic hymns lend themselves to recitation by actors, and the name *Śailuṣa*, actor, occurs. Singing, dancing and action are mentioned as constituent parts of several vedic rites, such as *Pitṛmedha*, marriage, etc. Probably pantomimic representations and processions were associated with some rites. This form of crude religious drama continued among the people (as they do to-day), even after the evolution of the literary drama, which was called *nātaka*, derived from *nat*, the prakritized form of nṛt, to dance. Relics of the orgies, such as those of the Savaras described in a previous chapter, can be traced in the greater Vedic *Yajñas*—such as the *Aśvamedha*, *Puruṣamedha* and *Mahāvrata* and are hinted

at in the *Aitarēya Āraṇyaka* and *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtras*. This itself is enough proof to show that the Vedic rites were evolved in India, by the amalgamation of the Āryan fire-rites with elements from the fireless rites of the Pre-Āryan population.

An excellent illustration of this admixture of the fire-rites and the pre-existing fireless ones is afforded by the fact that the modern Brāhmaṇa wedding-ritual in South India is compounded of the worship of fire, the *Saptapadi* or taking seven steps round the fire-altar and the growing, during the rite, of shoots of the 'nine grains' eaten by the people, which is a relic of the fertility-magic of extremely old times. In the estimation of women, this bit of fertility-magic is the most important part of the ritual. Other forms of sympathetic magic abound in the daily life of men and women to-day and special forms of that magic, in which magic imperciptibly passes into science, prescribed for purposes of the healing of disease, the securing of the love of man or woman, the destruction of enemies, etc. form a large part of the Atharva Vedic rites and a small part of those of the Rigveda. These and several details even of the *Śrauta* rites, all based on sympathetic magic, have come down from the pre-Āryan times, when the magical rites were performed without the accompaniment of fire offerings.

The Vedic rites developed from the pre-Āryan ones which consisted of animal sacrifices, the use of intoxicating drugs and spirits, sympathetic magic, religious dancing, and primitive drama; to these were added the offering of oblations not directly, but through fire to many Gods one after another, the recitation of *mantras* (invocations, prayers, petitions etc.) in the Vedic tongue, and the employment of a large number of priests. The cutting-up of animals led to the Brāhmaṇa priests' acquiring a

good knowledge of anatomy. The magic led to speculations about the correspondences between the constitution of man the microcosm and the univese the macrocosm and the evolution of cosmogonic theories, such as abound in the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas*, and *Upaniṣads*. The dancing, pantomima, singing and duologues in costume led to the early development of the drama.

CHAPTER VI.

Dynastic history of the Age of the Mantras. (*c*. 3300-1400 B.C.)

Note. This chapter is almost entirely based on the critical study of the Purāṇas of Pargiter, embodied in his 'Ancient Indian Historical tradition' more especially in its chap. XXIV.

The Kings of the Vedic Age belonged to one of two dynasties, called the Solar and the Lunar. The former, founded by Ikṣvāku, ruled in the Madhyadeśa with Ayodhyā, as its capital. Ikṣvāku's younger son Nimi founded the kingdom of Videha; its capital Mithilā was named after his son Mithi, also Janaka, which latter became the generic name of the kings of Videha. The Lunar line was established at about the same time by Purūravas at Pratiṣṭhāna. His younger son, Amāvasu founded the kingdom of Kānyakubja. A great grandson of Purūravas, Kṣattravṛddha, founded the dynasty of Kāśī. Yayāti, great grandson of Purūravas in the main line, divided his territories among his five sons—Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Aṇu, and Puru, and from them were descended the five famous royal lines of the Yādavas, the Turvasus, the Druhyus, the Āṇavas and the Pauravas. From Sahasrajit, one of Yadu's sons, the great l'ne of the Haihayas sprang. One of the branches of the Yādava lines was that of the Sāttvatas and one of the branches of this line was that of the Vṛṣṇis, to which Kṛṣṇa belonged.

The Lunar race spread fast in Northern India. Yayāti was a renowned conqueror, and was given the titles of *Samrāṭ* and *Sārvabhauma*, both meaning Emperor. He conquered all Madhyadeśa west of

Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja, and north-west as far as the River Sarasvatī, as well as the country west, south and south-east of Pratiṣṭhāna. Puru suceeeded to the sovereignty of the southern half of the Gaṅgā-yamunā *doāb* with his capital at Pratiṣṭhāna. Yadu got the region South-West, Turvasu, the South-east, Druhyu, the West and Aṇu, the north of Puru's territory. When Yadu's descendants were divided into the two great branches of the Yādavas and the Haihayas, the former occupied the northern and the latter the southern half of Yadu's territory.

The Kingdom of Ayodhyā first rose to very great eminence under Māndhātā. He conquered Kānyakubja; the Paurava kingdom was then under an eclipse; so he pushed beyond thence westwards, and conquered the Druhyu king on the confines of the Panjāb. One result of the defeat of the Druhyu king was that his successor Gāndhāra retired to the northwest and founded the Gāndhāra kingdom. Māndhātā must also have pressed on the Āṇavas who lay almost between him and the Druhyus. He was crowned *samrāt* and *cakravartti* several times. Māndhātā performed many sacrifices, and his reign marks the first great stage of the progress in complexity and popularity of the Vedic *Yajñas*. Hence in later ages he was described as "the ornament of the Kṛta Yuga," the first of the four great ages of history according to the Hindus. He was also a hymn-maker, i.e. a Ṛṣi. In those ages the iron wall of heredity did not shut out kings from the ranks of Brāhmaṇas, for Māndhāta was reckoned a Rājarṣi, one that exercised the functions both of a Brāhmaṇa and a Kṣatriya. He was 19th in descent from Ikṣvāku, and assuming for the present that the latter lived about 3300 B. C. and that the average length of a reign was 20 years, he may have flourished about 2900 B.C. The sway of Māndhātā or his sons

extended to the Narmadā, for the wife of Purukutsa, his eldest son, was named Narmadā. Another son, also a famous king, called Mucukunda built and fortified a town on the bank of that river; it was Māhiṣmatī, now Māndhātā on an island in the river. The supremacy of Ayodhyā soon after this declined.

The Haihayas who ruled in South Mālava now rose in importance. They conquered the kingdom of Kāśī and were constantly raiding Northern India. The greatest king of the Haihayas was Arjuna Kārttavīrya; he was a great warrior and was hence named *Sahasrabāhu*, "the thousand armed" He captured Māhiṣmatī from the Kārkōtaka Nāgas and made it his fortress-capital. His conquests extended from the banks of the Narmadā to the Himālayas. A Rāvaṇa from the South attacked him but was defeated and imprisoned in Māhiṣmatī but was later on released. The Bhārgavas were the leading Brāhmaṇas of Arjuna's dominions. The king became a disciple of the great saint Datta, the Ātreya, and used violence to the Bhārgavas. They fled to Madhyadeśa for protection. There the Bhārgava Ṛṣi, Ṛcika, married Satyavatī, sister of Viśvāmitra, and got a son, Jamadagni. The latter was trained to archery and arms but left martial exploits alone. But Arjuna raided his hermitage and molested him and Arjuna's sons killed Jamadagni. So one of Jamadagni's sons, Rāma, who combined the two characters, *Brahma-Kṣatra*, one who combined in himself the characteristics of both Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, killed Arjuna and many other Haihayas. This Rāma was called in later times Paraśu Rāma, Rāma of the battle axe, to distinguish him from Rāmacandra. Parāśu Rāma performed many sacrifices and then retired to South India. Legend says that he then planted a colony of Brāhmaṇas in the west coast. Arjuna lived ten generations after Māndhātā, *c.* 2700 B.C.

Triśanku of Ayodhyā lived about the same time. He was exiled by his father, at whose death, Devarāj, the head of the Vasiṣṭhas, who were from early times, the hereditary priests of the Rājas of Ayodhyā, became regent and kept Triśaṅku in continued exile. There then occurred a famine of twelve years. At that time Viśva-ratha, king of Kānyakubja, relinquished his kingdom, placed his family in a hermitage and retired to Ruṣaṅgu's *tīrtha* on the Sarasvatī, in low lands near the sea, and performed *tapas*. There then occurred a twelve-year famine, during which Triśaṅku befriended Viśvaratha's family. When the *tapas* was over, Viśvaratha became a Brāhmaṇa and took the name of Viśvāmitra. He then championed Triśaṅku's cause, and helped him to get the throne, and himself became the royal priest. Vasiṣṭha thus lost both the regency and the priesthood, became Viśvāmitra's foe and refused to acknowledge his newly acquired status of a Brāhmaṇā.

On Trisanku's death Viśvāmitra placed his son, Hariścandra, on the throne and offered the *Rājasūya* sacrifice for him. Hariścandra got into great trouble with Viśvāmitra on account of his inability to pay the heavy fees of the sacrifice, and Vasiṣṭha regained his influence at the court of Ayodhyā. Hariścandra begat a son Rohita, whom he had vowed to sacrifice to Varuṇa, but put off the fulfilment of the vow for twenty-two years. Hariścandra then got dropsy; so Rohita, to propitiate Varuṇa and relieve his father from the disease, which was believed to have been sent by that God, bought Ajīgarta's son Śunahśepa, as sacrificial victim in his stead. Śunahśepa was Viśvāmitra's grandnephew. When the sacrifice was due, Viśvāmitra turned it into a formal rite, set Śunahśepa free from the sacrificial post (*yūpa*), and adopted him as his chief son with the name Devarāta. A number of Viśvāmitra's

sons protested against the status given to Devarāta, were cursed by their angry father and exiled from Aryāvarta to the Vindhya region, where they became the ancestors of Dasyu tribes, such as the Āndhras, Mūtibas, Pulindas, etc. Viśvāmitra founded a great line of Ṛṣis, members of which, like the Vasiṣṭhas, constantly appeared in the history of North India during the Vedic Age. He also took a great part in the development of Brāhmaṇa rites. His converting the human sacrifice into a formal rite has been already noted. He made many *mantras*, of which one was the famous *Sāvitrī mantra*, usually called the *Gāyatrī* from the metre in which it was composed. It has become most sacred *mantra* of the Brāhmaṇas and in it they have to be initiated when young for qualifying themselves to exercise their rights and responsibilities as Brāhmaṇas. He and two of his sons were very early *mantra-makers*.

Gāndhāra was founded by the son of the Druhya king who was defeated by Māndhātā. Twelfth in descent from him, was Pracetas (*c*. 2660 B.C.), whose 'hundred offspring' it is said migrated to west and became rulers of *mleccha* countries. Thus Indian tradition makes the Ārya cult move through the North-west to Bactria (Bāhlika) and beyond, and not from Persia to India, as modern theory holds. At the time this occurred the fire-cult was still in a primitive state and had not received the great development reached in the upper *doāb* a few centuries later, as will be presently described. The fire-cult in Bactria reverted to a simpler state, such as is found in the Avestan books and is still preserved among the Pārsees, and remotely resembling the Vedic rite. The Vedic language must have gone along with the cult and become changed into the Avestan. This migration of the Ārya cult took place before the meaning of the word Asura changed from 'God' to demon.

The Tālajaṅghas, a branch of the Haihayas, meanwhile, revived their domination of North India. Their sway extended from the gulf of Cambay to the Gaṅgā-yamunā *dcāb* and thence to Benares. The Kānyakubja kingdom soon fell; Ayodhyā was attacked and its king Bāhu fled to the forest and died near the hermitage of a Bhārgava Ṛṣi of the name of Agni, where his son Sagara was born and educated.

Sagara, when he reached manhood, defeated the Tālajaṅgas, and recovered Ayodhyā. He then extended the campaign, subdued all Northern India, then marched South and crushed the Haihayas in their own territories. With the destruction of the Haihayas we may suppose the first age—Kṛta—ended. He celebrated the *aśvamedha* sacrifice and became the paramount power in Āryāvarta. He reigned for a long time (*c.* 2500 B.C.) but after his death Ayodhyā again declined in importance and the overthrown dynasties recovered power.

The Paurava line, which had disappeared during the time of Māndhātā was revived by Duṣyanta. He married Śakuntalā, the daughter of the contemporary head of the Viśvāmitra family and begot Bharata. Bharata was a famous and pious man; his sway was wide and he was crowned *cakravārtti*. For some reason unknown, Pratiṣṭhāna ceased to be the capital, which was shifted to a place in the upper *doāb* and named Hastināpura, after his fifth successor. A great number of Ṛṣis lived in his time, and the bulk of Vedic *mantras* were then composed. The Vedic *Yajñas* reached the climax of dveelopment under Bharata, who celebrated many of them on the banks of the Sarasvatī and gave away great gifts of cattle. Bharata's descendants, too helped very much to develop the Vedic rites. As many Ṛṣis took part in this elaboration of the *yajñas* in the

upper[1] *doāb*, it came to be called Brahmarṣideśa; it and not the Panjāb was the centre of Vedic culture and its river, the Sarasvatī, became a holy river frequently mentioned in the Vedic literature. Bharata acquired so much fame that India came to be called Bhāratavarṣa. Some of Bharata's successors were hymn-makers and all of them sacrificers, so that the phrese ***Bhārata Agni*** occurs frequently. Bharata lived *c.* 2460 B.C.

Nala, husband of Damayantī and king of the Niṣadhas, famous in legend, whose misfortunes have moved millions of Indian hearts since his time, lived fifteen generations after, *c.* 2460 B.C. His daughter Indrasenā married Mudgala, a king of the Turvasu line. Mudgala fought with the Dasyus, who had in the usual ancient Indian fashion declared hostilities by stealing his cattle. When Mudgala went against them, his wife Indrasenā, who had inherited Nala's skill in chariot-driving, drove his chariot and thus helped him to make huge captures of cows from the Dasyus. A hymn sung on this occasion is included in the Ṛgveda[1]. Mudgala's descendants became Brāhmaṇas (the Maudgalyas).

Ayodhyā, about this time, rose to prominence for the third time, this time under Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha; the country now came to be called Kosala. The story of Daśaratha's son Rāmacandra, shows that the Ārya rites had advanced to the banks of the Godāvarī. The Rākṣasas of South India, one of whose northern colonies was Janasthāna, and who were a race as highly civilized as the North Indians and were ruled over from Laṅkā by a king called Rāvaṇa, maltreated the Ārya *munis* (forest-dwellers) and spoiled their rites. Rāma fought with this king and destroyed his power. Thereupon probably the three Tamil dynasties of Cōḷa, Cēra and Paṇḍiya were

1. C. A. I., p. 3.

founded. The Ārya rites then spread in South India, though the bulk of the Tamil people did not readily take to them. With Rāma's death Kosala permanently declined in importance. He is believed to have lived in the Dvāpara *yuga* or the third epoch. So that the Treta or second age must have closed before 2040 B. C. when Rāma probably lived. This date has been arrived at from the fact that he was removed from Ikṣvāku by 63 generations. There is a tradition about the position of the five chief planets at the moment of Rāmacandra's birth and this points to about the same date. Rāma is mentioned in a hymn[1] of the Ṛgveda as a giver of great gifts to Brāhmaṇas. Tradition says that his contemporary Vālmīkī composed a poem on Rāma's life. It might have been a small ballad-like poem in the Candas dialect and absorbed in the later Rāmāyaṇa composed in the Bhāṣa dialect. The Vasiṣṭhas continued to be the priests of the court of Ayodhyā; the contemporary head of the Vasiṣṭha family, as well as of the Viśvāmitra family appear in the story of Rāmacandra.

The two kingdoms of North and South Pañcāla arose out of the Paurava dominion a few generations after Bharata; after Rāmacandra's death, North Pañcāla under its king Sṛñjaya rose to prominence. His son Cyavana was a great warrior and the latter's son, Sudās, annexed several kingdoms. Sudās drove out the Paurava king Samvarana of Hastināpura. A confederacy of the kings of the Purus, the Yādavas, the Śivas, the Druhyus, the Matsyas, the Turvasus and others, was formed against Sudās, who defeated them in a great battle near the river Paruṣṇī. This is called the War of the Ten Kings. First the contemporary head of the Viśvāmitra family and later that of the Vasiṣṭha family, proba-

1. R. V., X., 93. 14.

bly, the one called Śakti or his son Parāśara, were priests of Sudās and sang hymns for his success in arms. These hymns are found in the Ṛgveda Samhitā and are without any proper reason called very early hymns by some scholars. As Sudās, Śakti, and Parāśara were very late personages, who lived just a few centuries before the war of the Mahābhārata, these hymns were late ones, belonging to *c.* 1980 B.C. when Sudās lived.

The Pauravas, soon after, recovered Hastināpura. Kuru, their king, raised the Paurava realm to eminence. He gave his name to Kurukṣetra, his capital, which the events of the Mahābhārata have invested with an undying fame, and to Kurujāṅgala which adjoined it to the east, in which lay Hastināpura. His successors were called Kauravas, which name was extended also to the people sometime after the Paurava power declined. But Vasu, descendant of Kuru conquered the Yādava kingdom of Cedi, and established himself there. He extended his conquests eastwards; and when he divided his territories among his sons his eldest son, Bṛhadratha got Magadha with Girivraja as his capital. Magadha for the first time became prominent in Indian history, under Jarāsandha who extended his power upto Mathurā, whose Yādava king, Kamsa, acknowledged him as overlord. Kamsa was a tyrant and Kṛṣṇa killed him. This roused Jarāsandha's wrath and Kṛṣṇa with the Bhojas migrated to Gujarāt where he became king in Dvāraka. In Kṛṣṇa's time Rukmī, his brother-in-law, built Bhojakaṭaka in the Deccan.

The Kauravas, a little before the above events, again rose to eminence under Pratīpa. His successor, Śantanu superseded his elder brother Devāpi, whereupon no rain fell for twelve years. Devāpi then acted as Hotā (chief priest) and performed sacrifice for his

brother, as a Vedic hymn informs us, and obtained rain. Śantanu's grandsons were Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. The former being blind, the latter ruled the Kaurava realm. Dhṛtarāṣṭra had many sons of whom Duryodhana was the first; and Pāṇḍu had five sons, Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna and three others. The sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra belonging to the elder branch were called Kauravas and Pāṇḍu's sons, the Pāṇḍavas. When the Pāṇḍavas claimed their share of the Kaurava territory, they received the small principality of Indraprastha (Delhi). But the Pāṇḍavas were soon banished for fourteen years for having lost at dice. When at the end of that period they reclaimed their principality, it was refused and they appealed to arms. All the kings of India, it is said, took part in the great battle, fighting on one side or the other; the battle lasted for eighteen days; the Pāṇḍavas won, but nearly all the kings who took part in it died in the battle and Kṣatriya power declined till it died out about a thousand years later.

South India, is referred to once in the *Ṛgveda Samhihā*, as a place of exile, outside the holy land (*puṇyabhūmi*) of the Āryas i.e., Āryāvarta. But the political history of the Vedic period narrated above shows that in very early times Kārtavīrya started Āryan rule on the banks of the Narmadā, that the sons of Viśvāmitra began to Āryanize the tribes south of the Vindhyas and that before the Mahābhārata war. Āryan dynasties ruled almost upto the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. The Tamil Rājās beyond that river are said to have sent contingents to take part in that Armageddon, so that complete communication had been established between north and south by 1500 B.C.

With the end of the Mahābhārata period began the Kali age. The Purāṇic tradition regards it as

1. R. V., X., 98.

having commenced about the beginning of the XIV century B.C. In later Indian writings, 3102 B.C. (February 18) came to be regarded as the beginning of the Kali epoch. This date has been explained by Dr. Fleet as having been arrived in the VI cent. A.D. by calculating the past point of time when the sun, the moon and the planets were in conjunction with the first point of *Meṣa* (Aries), the beginning of the Luni-Solar Indian year. As a matter of fact there was no such conjunctiou on that date, but only an approach to such a conjunction. The reckoning thus devised was used as an initial point of astronomical reckoning, and later on treated as the commencement of the Kali age and the great war was referred to that epoch. But there is no evidence to prove that the Kali era was used earlier than the VII century A.D. anywhere in India, one of the earliest to use it in a document being Pulakeśī II of Bādāmī.

The date of the battle can be fixed with some degree of certainty. According to the chronology adopted above, the battle took place in the middle of the XV century B.C., a date assigned to it by most modern Indian scholars.[1]

The Purāṇas, on account of the corruptions of their texts, give varying figures for the durations of the dynasties that flourished after the Bhārata battle; their figures about the length of each reign cannot be trusted, because a number of figures can become easily corrupt when transmitted orally or by writing from age to age. But they are unanimous in asserting that 1050 (or 1015) years elapsed from the birth of Parīkṣit, Arjuna's grandson, to the reign of Mahā-padma Nanda. A solitary figure has much less chances of corruption than a great

1. For the arguments in favour of the more ancient and traditionally current date, see M.C., pp. 65-92. *Ed.*

number of them. We will therefore be not very wrong if we take it that the Mahābhārata war took place a thousand years (in round numbers) before the accession of Mahā-Padma Nanda. As Mahāpadma's reign began 100 years before Candragupta got the throne of Magadha (*c.* 325 B.C.), we obtain *c.* 1425 B. C. as the time of the Bhārata battle. At least 95 royal generations (it may be more, for the Purāṇic chroniclers are likely to have omitted several undistinguished minor kings from their lists) lived before this great battle. The estimate of 20 years per reign, which errs on the side of conservatism, will take us to the last quarter of the fourth millennium B.C., for the beginning of Vedic period. Two hymns in the Ṛgveda refer to the beginning of the year in the summer solstice when the sun was in the Phalgunī[1], and Jacobi has pointed out that this was in 4000 B.C. Hence the chronology adopted above has to be altered giving a longer length to the Vedic age. In fact the average length of 20 years per reign adopted in the chronology of this chapter is a very low figure; if the length of it be raised to 25, not at all an extravagant figure, Jacobi's date will be reached. Scholars of two generations ago were so much under the influence of Archbishop Usher's date of 4004 B.C. for the creation of man and so reluctant to study the historical chapters of the Purāṇas that they had not the courage to assign a date earlier than 1200 B.C. for the coming of the Āryas into India. Since then, the weight of evidence has compelled scholars to assign earlier dates, e.g. 1500 B.C., 2000 B.C., 2500 B.C., to that event. Pargiter is inclined to allow only 12 years as the average length of a reign and to fix 950 B.C., as the date of Bhārata battle, for he is anxious to accept 2000 B.C., adopted by some scholars, as the date of the entry of the Āryas into India[2].

1. R. V., X, 85-13   2. A.I.H.T., p. 301.

The Kassite Kings who established a dynasty at Babylon about 1760 B.C. had as elements of the names of their kings Śuriaś (Sans. *Sūrya*), Indaś (Sans. Indra), Maruttaś (Sans. *Marutaḥ*). They introduced horse-chariots and the later Babylonian name of the horse was *susu* (apparently derived from Sans. *aśva*), and we can thus infer that the leaders of the Kassite invasion were Āryan princes, remote descendants of Pracetas.

Three centuries later another band of Āryan invaders established a dynasty which ruled over the Mitanni on the upper Euphrates. Their names were Śutarna, Duśratta, Artatama and they worshipped Indara (Indra), Uruwna (Varuṇa), Mitra, and Naśaattiia (Nāsatyas). They used the Āryan numerals *aika* (1), *teras* (3), *panza* (5), *satta* (7) and *nāv* (9). In the same period there were princes in Syria and Palestine of the names of Biridaśwa, (Bṛhadaśva), Śuwardata (Svardatta), Yaśdata (Yaśodatta), Artamanya (Ṛtamānya), etc. The forms of these words are not Iranian but Indian, because the Iranian for 'one' is 'aeva' for 'seven', 'hapta', and for 'horse', 'aspa'[1]. Hence these Āryan princes were not an overflow from Irān, but went straight from India, perhaps by sea, for the Vedic hymns of the period speak of long sea-voyages and shipwrecks[2]. They were certainly not Āryans upon the move towards the East[3].

To try to explain these facts by the theory of the slow migration of the Āryan gods and the Āryan tongue through Mesopotamia and Persia to India between the years 1,800 B,C., and 1.2C0 B.C. lands us in great difficulties. Firstly a period of at least 2,000 years

1. A., pp. 18-20.

2. Vide L. A. I. A. M. pp. 53-35 for numerous quotations from the Ṛgveda Samhita and the Atharva Veda Samhitā to prove this; also *Ib.* pp. 120-3.

3. As is claimed in C. H. I., I., p. 72.

is needed for finding room for nearly 100 generations of kings to reign in India before 1,200 B.C. Secondly Winternitz suggests 2,000 or 2,500 B.C. for the commencement of the Vedic period to account for the development of the extensive Vedic literature in India[1]. Thirdly, the name of Indra occurs in the *Vendīdād* as Āndra, a minor demon, and the above theory compels us to believe that Indra, a chief God among the Mitanni, became a minor demon in Persia and recovered his lost status in India, all the while being redolent of Indian soil. The Nāsatyas underwent a similar oscillation of fortune. Being a chief God among the Mitanni in 1,400 B.C., he became Nāonhaithya. Going on to India, he was metamorphosed again into the twin Nāsatyas, recovering the original *s* in his name. Much more simple and natural is the explanation, based on Vedic and Purāṇic references, that Ārya princes and in their wake Ārya gods 'roamed to distant countries' by land as well as by sea during the spacious times of the expansion of Ārya power in India and their names and functions got changed in accordance with the phonetic habits of the people among whom they settled and the local evolution of religious ideas and that Āryan institutions, like the Āryan laws, the Āryan fire-cult involving the rite of cremation and the Āryan sacred tongue similarly migrated and got altered in course of time in those countries. In many Sanskrit books it is said that the *Śakayavana pallavas* became degenerate kṣatriyas for want of Brāhmaṇas to assist at the performance of religious rites; in later times, notwithstanding the presence of Brāhmaṇas in their midst, the people of the island of Bali have become degenerate Hindus though they desperately cling to Hindu practices. Something similar took place in Western Asia in ancient times.

1, H. I. L., I, pp. 290-310

Āryan emigrants from Northern India carried with them the simpler early Ārya rites and myths to Persia and beyond, and gradually degenerated there. Agni got the name of Āthar, (the root of the name is present in *Atharvā*, the fire-priest, who drew Agni from the lotus leaf[1]), and was further differentiated from the Indian Agni into whose mouth animal offerings were thrown, by being considered so holy that the animal offerings were only shown to him and thrown aside.

The *Asura* (God) Varuṇa and Mitra his companion, became Asura-mitra in the Avestan mythology and the Zoroastrian reformation changed the former into Ahura-mazda, and the latter became minor god. Indra Vṛtrahan, the slayer of Vṛtra, broke up into two, a minor demon Andra, and Verethragan, the God of Victory. The twin Nāsatyas, who were "lords of ample wealth"[2] in India and got "high praise among mankind"[3] became degraded into the one evil spirit Nāonhaithya. It is impossible to conceive that the opposite process took place.

One consequence of the migration of Indian princes to regions out-side was the increasing intercourse of Vedic India with countries to its west. The Purāṇas say that Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas-all foreign tribes, entered India from the north-west and occupied Ayodhyā during Sagara's minority and were admitted to Kṣatriya status by the contemporary head of the Vasiṣṭha clan; and, when Sagara regained the throne, he compelled them to wear beards as a punishment. The later Vedic *mantras*[4] refer in several places to the Parśus (Persians) and Pārthavas (Parthians) and the Bahlikas (Bactrians), though some scholars would like to explain

1. R. V., vi., 16. 13.
2. R. V., viii., 5. 31.
3. R. V., iii., 58. 5.
4. R. V., vi, 27. 8; X, 33, 2; A. V., v, 22. 5. 7. 9.

away these allusions to foreign intercourse, from a preconceived notion that the Vedic Āryas had no intercourse with surrounding countries.

The few references to inheritance, adoption and other questions of civil law in the *mantras* lead to the inference that in those far off ages the Āryas had evolved settled laws. The authors who have propounded civil and criminal laws from the X century onwards claim that their legal pronouncements were based on the statements in the *Śruti* and the teachings and practices of the Ṛṣis of the Vedic age. Tradition has invariably regarded the ancient Ṛṣi Manu as the first Law-giver. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* records an ancient maxim, 'whatever Manu said is medicine.' It is therefore probable that Manu composed a book of laws early in the Vedic period, which was in later times expanded, condensed, altered, and readjusted to suit later conditions of life. The *Mānavadharma Sūtra, Vṛddha Manu, Bṛhan Manu* and the *Manu Smṛti* as we now have it, were all based on the original ordinances of Manu which were 'remembered' all through the Vedic age. The tradition of Manu being the first law-giver is a continuous one coming down from the Vedic times. Hence the suggestion that Hammurabbi's laws are based on Manu's is not wrong on the face of it, for Indian Kṣatriyas had emigrated west of Gandhāra some centuries before the age of that great Babylonian emperor (2100 B. C.).

That Manu was an early law-giver is confirmed by the tradition that he rescued the land from *Matsya nyāya*, 'the analogy of the fish' (the larger preying on the smaller). The revisers of the laws of Manu could not remove from it, on account of its antiquity, the idea, that the Brāhmaṇa who resided south of the Vindhyas lost caste and this idea could have been conceived before the Āryas crossed the Vindhyas and founded the state of Vidarbha (c. 2500 B.C.).

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE IN THE AGE OF THE VEDA SAMHITĀS.

Note. **This chapter is mainly a condensation of my 'Life in Ancient India in the age of the Mantras'.**

The Vedas, according to Indian usage comprise the four Veda *Samhitās* or compilations of *Mantras* in prose (*yajus*) and verse (*Ṛk*), and numerous *Brāhmaṇas* or prose treatises on the Vedic rites, some of which latter have alone escaped the ravages of time. European scholars use the term Veda to mean the four Samhitās generally, and some, the Ṛgveda Samhitā particularly. The *Samhitās* are a kind of '*vade mecum*' each intended for use by one class of sacrificial priests. From a floating mass of *mantra* material which had been accumulating in the memory of Brāhmaṇas from the beginning of the Vedic Age, a large number of *Ṛks* was selected and arranged as the Ṛgveda Samhitā for use by the *Hotā* or invoking priest during the many sacrifices which had developed in that age. Many of the hymns of the Ṛgveda Samhitā are exactly as the authors composed them, but some, like that in which the *Gāyatrī mantra* occurs, are a jumble of stray (*khila*) *mantras* which had lost their way. The Sāma Veda Samhitā was compiled for the use of the *Udgātā*, the singing priest, who had to sing the hymns during the Soma sacrifice ; it happens that almost all the Sāmaveda *mantras* are also found in the Ṛgveda Samhitā. The Yajur Veda Samhitā is so-called because it contains, along with a large number of *Ṛks* or portions of *Ṛks*, all the Vedic *mantras* in prose. It was compiled for use by the *Adhvaryu* who was the main sacrificial priest, whose duties were as complex as that of the others was simple, because the *Adhvaryu* had to do all the major or minor acts involved in each sacrifice. These acts range from

cutting a stick to drive the calf to the cow for milking it, to the pouring the offerings on fire. Each little action had to be accompanied by a prose (*yajus*) or a poetic *mantra* (*Ṛk*), explanatory of the action and its purpose. Hence the *mantras* of the Yajur Veda Samhitā are arranged in the exact order in which the *Adhvaryu* had to do the actions that culminated in the sacrifice. A portion of the *Ṛks* included in the Yajur Veda Samhitā are found scattered in the Ṛgveda Samhitā, the other portion having been taken from the common *mantra*-material above referred to. These three Samhitās were collectively called the *Trayī*, the triple Veda, because they alone were needed for the sacrifices. The sacrifices for which the *Trayī* was compiled may be called public sacrifices (the Indian name being Śrauta Karmā), because they were held in public places, were patronized by kings or nobles and required a large number of priests to assist in their performance. Besides these, a large number of domestic rites (Gṛihya Karmā) were performed in private houses in the Vedic Age and the *mantras* needed for them were collected together in the Atharva Veda Samhitā (except the last book which belongs to the next period). Atharvā meant a fire-priest, such as assisted in the domestic one-fire rites and he existed long before the three-fire public sacrifices with their multiplicty of priests were evolved. The fact that the Atharva Veda Samhitā was not included in the *Trayī* means that that Samhitā was not compiled for use at the Śrauta Karmā, for which alone the *Trayī* was put together. The domestic rites were earlier than the Śrauta ones. The Atharva Veda Samhitā contains more magic spells than the others, because spells were used more in private rites than in public ones. As Samhitās, all the four have equal standing.

The Age of the Ṛṣis, i.e., the period during which the *mantras* were composed extended from the time

before which the two royal lines were established down to the date of the Bhārata battle. The inspiration of the Gods began to decline at the end of the period, as the last hymns are very few in number ; and Veda Vyāsa, the collector of the Vedic *mantras* whose personal name was Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, compiled the Samhitās and set a final seal on the canon. There were collectors of the *mantras* before his time, but these collections were but a jumble of the available *mantras* and they did not make four clear-cut Samhitās to serve four different purposes. The Samhitās provide untainted contemporary evidence about the life of the people during the age.

Kings sat on a throne "of iron columns decked with gold" and held court arrayed in golden mail and shining robes, surrounded by ministers, spies, heralds proclaiming their glory, courtiers extolling them and messengers conveying their commands. They attended assemblies clad in robes of state, carpets spread under their seats. Chief of the royal associates were chariot-builders, "king-makers," charioteers and leaders of hosts (*senāni*). Public questions were discussed in assemblies, but the will of the soverign generally prevailed. Bards went in the train of the kings praising them. Royal palaces were built of wood, with roofs supported by wooden pillars on which were carved figures of unrobed girls. Kings rode on elephants or chariots drawn by horses, all being decorated with gold, pearl and mother of pearl. Kings were chosen from the royal family by the king-makers and the choice was submitted to the people for approval. They were then formally consecrated. Rulers of various grades ruled, *Samrāṭ*, emperor, *Svarāṭ*, independent king, *Rāja*, king, *Rājaka*, petty rājā, and *Pūrpati*, lord of a town. Public affairs were managed by assemblies, general or local, *Sabhā* or *Samiti*, and Rājās could not have been autocratic. They owned lands and cattle, for they gave

gifts of them frequently to Ṛṣis and Brāhmaṇas. The *Purohita* was the royal priest and his monitor. He accompanied kings to battles The land tax was probably one-sixth of the produce, for in the lawbooks which claim to follow the customs of the Vedic age, that is the normal rate of taxation, and the king was the 'sixth-taker' (*Ṣaḍbhāgabhāk*). But yet kings must have taken oppressive exactions when they could for the king is said " to eat the rich ".

The joint-family system which began in the pastoral stage of Indian culture, prevailed in the Vedic Age; the head of the family was the owner of the family property. Probably three generations lived in the same house and family affection was very pronounced. The anxiety to beget sons and thus discharge the debts due to forbears, that is a marked feature of the Hindus even today, already existed in the Vedic Age. In default of a natural son, the son of a relative was adopted and he inherited the family property. Women, though held inferior to men, had an honoured position in the family. The wife took part in religious sacrifices; the sacrificer and his wife are the joint " deities " of one hymn.

Agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Numerous references to the subject show that irrigation and the raising of crops were done exactly as they are done to-day in villages, the implements used being the same as in vogue now. Fields were measured with measuring rods and classified as barren, waste, forest and cultivated land and the boundaries of fields were definitely marked out. The minor customs connected with agriculture were also the same as now. In a certain hymn sacrifice to the Gods is figuratively described as agriculture, showing that the Vedic poets were not, as later poets were, fettered with regard to poetic imagery by fixed literary conventions.

The allusions to pasture are not so frequent as those to agriculture, cattle-rearing being followed as subsidiary to agriculture. This shows that the Vedic Aryas were not mainly a pastoral people, as some historians have described them to be. The agricultural and pastoral stages of culture had been fully developed in India long before the Vedic Age. Imageries taken from the life of the herdsman also occur in the hymns.

Other occupations were weaving in cotton and wool, carpentry including wood-carving, the work of blacksmiths and goldsmiths, and leather work—all these occupations also coming down from the early ages. Poetic similes derived from all these occupations are found in the Samhitās. Besides these, the physician is now and then referred to. Numerous diseases are named and remedies, both medicinal and magical, described. Hence the doctor was both "fiend-slayer and chaser of disease."

The profession of war was followed by the fighting classes. The declaration of war consisted in raiding the cattle of the enemy. Warrior marched to battle with raised banners. The fight began with the beating of the war-drum. Kings and nobles fought from chariots and wore armour. Probably elephants were also used in war. Clubs, both of wood and iron, missiles of various kinds, swords, bows and arrows and other weapons were used in fights. All these weapons furnished poets with imagery.

Trade, internal and external, was well-developed As a hymn says men went to far off lands for interchange of merchandize "and earning riches with riches" But the bulk of traders were not Āryas but the Dasyus of northern and Southern India. The articles of internal trade were pearls, mother of pearl, gold, gems and ele-

phants from South India exchanged for the horses and woolen goods of North India. Though the greater part of this trade was carried on by barter, two types of currency existed, viz., the *hiraṇyapiṇḍa* and the *niṣka*. Indian timber (ebony and teak) and Indian cloth were exported to foreign countries from which incense and sweet smelling gums were imported.

The chief **amusements** of the nobles were chariot-racing, hunting, and gambling. Race-horses are vividly described in one hymn. They hunted elephants, wild boars, wild bulls and the 'thought-fleet' deer with trained hounds. They caught lions in traps. Gambling, sacramental and secular, was very popular. Gambling-houses were maintained; there the gamesters were served meat and liquor. The poorer people drank, sang, danced and made merry, both on religious and secular occasions. The popular drink was the Surā; Soma even then difficult to obtain was merely a sacrificial drink. The pessimism born of the carnage on the field of the Mahābhārata war did not exist in the Vedic Age.

Cattle-lifting and other forms of thieving were the chief forms of crime. Robbers were severely punished. Prostitution was not unknown. There is a reference to a prison and to fetters of iron. Probably the ordeals of fire, water and single combat existed. Civil disputes were perhaps generally settled by intermediators. A debtor was sometimes reduced to slavery.

Houses were built of timber. They were fixed in the ground with wooden pegs and roofs rested on wooden columns. The beams, generally of bamboo, were tied together with strong cords. The beams and roof were supported by props and cross-beams held together by reeds, bolts, ropes, clamps, and dovetails. The roof con sisted of leaves plaited "like the hair of ladies" and "a

robe of grass " to ward off the fierce heat. The houses of the rich had four walls and the poor lived in huts " clad with straw." The compound around houses was fenced round with sticks. The floor was covered with reed mats or grass. The houses of the rich possessed chairs, benches, cots and boxes to secure valuables in.

The people ate animal and vegetable food, both cooked in exactly the same ways as they are cooked now. Milk and milk-products were largely consumed, their supply being ample on account of the large number of cattle reared for sacrificial or lay purposes. As now, hot freshly cooked food was preferred to cold food. Food was served on leaf-platters.

Women, besides cooking, were engaged in spinning, weaving, embroidery, cane-splitting, dyeing etc., exactly as now. Girls sometimes married for love, often for money; if unmarried, they remained in their parents' homes. Polygamy was rare. Women and their husbands were very hospitable to guests; when an honoured visitor came, a calf was killed for his benefit; guests were regarded as gods.

Two pieces of cloth were worn by men and one by women as now. On ceremonial occasions men wore a turban on the head. Often the borders of clothes were embroidered. Men and women bathed as now in rivers and tanks, wore newly washed clothes and balmed themselves with scents and unguents. Shaving was an Āryan institution, their frequent baths necessitating it. The priests shaved their heads, leaving a tuft to be knotted; some people grew beards. Women plaited their hair and tied it in three different ways and adorned it with flowers.

Rites and the recitation of *mantras* hedged round every act of life, small or big, and every event, normal or

abnormal, from the nuptials preceding the conception of a child to death. Daily life was also honeycombed with magical practices which were not very different in essence from the fire-rites. The gods and demons were as much with the Ārya as with the Dasyu. The public rites gradually became so elaborated that an army of priests was required for their celebration and some, especially the *sattrayāgas*, lasted several years. The chief royal rites were the coronation (*abhiṣeka*), the victory sacrifice (*vājapeya*) and the horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*). Though the sentiment against human sacrifice (*puruṣamedha*) became strong early in the Vedic Age and it was turned into a formal rite, real human sacrifices were not unknown. These sacrifices were taken over from those that were practised by the Dasyus from very early times, and the fire-ceremonial and the recitation of Vedic *mantras* were added to them. The older Dasyu sacrifices of animals still continues among the classes not brought fully under Brāhmaṇa influence and even the human sacrifice continues, secretly, for religious or magical purposes in various places, but rarely. The Āryan rites came not catastrophically into the country but were evolved from the Dasyu ones by the Ṛṣis and Āryanized.

The division of the people into Varṇas in accordance with their relation to the fire-rite began in this epoch. The names of the three higher castes are mentioned not infrequently and that of the last rarely. The Brāhmaṇa was the priest and the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya were entitled to pay for and derive the benefits of the extraordinary and ordinary rites respectively. Varṇa and endogamy did not go hand in hand, and even priesthood was not completely walled in by heredity. Occupational caste had not been much developed, for in one hymn a Ṛṣi says, "I am a poet, my father is a doctor and

my mother is a grinder of corn. Striving for riches, we make various plans and follow our desires like kine.[1]"

Of the four *Aśramas* we have more than a foreshadowing. The young boy was made a *Brahmacāri* and was consecrated for studies by tying a girdle of Munja grass round him and the utterance of *mantras*. He then went about with a buck-skin, grew a beard and studied the sacred lore, which consisted of "ancient texts". The master recited the texts and the disciple repeated them after him as "frogs croak one after another, repeating the other language;" schools were organized in which "one plies his constant task reciting verses; one sings the holy psalms in Sakvari verses; one more, the Brāhmaṇa tells the lore of being, and one lays down the rules of sacrifice."[2] The order of the Sanyāsī, called '*Muni*' in the *mantras*, arose in this period. Some *munis* were 'wind-clad' and others wore "soiled garments of brown colour." They intoned hymns and were regarded as gods. They were different from the *Yatis* and the *Vrātyas* who were Dasyu ascetics but yet respected by the Āryas.

'**Measuring out the year**' was developed in the Vedic Age. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, intercalary months being added to make up the difference between the solar year and the lunar year. The day was divided into 60 hours, also into eight watches. The year was also divided into three seasons of four months each, as also into six of two months each. Five years formed a cycle (*yuga*). The ecliptic was divided into 27 equal parts (*nakṣatra*), and they were named after the nearest constellations. The first of the *Nakṣatras* was *Krittikā* (Pleiades). The months were

1. R. V., IX, 112. 3.
2. R. V., X, 71. 11.

named after the *Nakṣatras* near about which the full moon occurred.

The Gods of the Veda had nothing to do with the original home of the Indo-Germanic languages, for none of them were non-Indian. They were old Indian Gods of the several regions, with their names Sanskritized. The Vedic culture being one developed in the agricultural region of the river-valleys, Indra, the sky-god and rain-giver, naturally became the chief God of the Vedic Āryas. They prayed to him to give them victory in battles and gave him the main part of their sacrifices. As he destroyed the demons who imprisoned rain in the clouds, with his thunderbolt (*vajra*), they hoped he would kill their earthly enemies with the same weapon. To call Indra a god special to the Āryas, because of the use of the word *Anindra*, 'Indra-less' in relation to Dasyus, is wrong, because this word is used in case of Āryas too, as for instance the Indra-worshipping Ārya enemies of Sudās. The sexual and alcoholic predilections of the Kṣatriyas were reflected in the God's sexual athleticism and capacity for Soma-drinking. The Āryas shaped images of him in a few sacrifices, but ordinarily he was an invisible visitor in *yajñas*. In some passages Indra is described as roaming far; this perhaps refers to the migration of his worship to the Euphrates valley. Like Indra, Varuṇa, Rudra-Śiva, Viṣṇu, Tvaṣṭā, and Aditi, seem to have been taken over from the Pre-Āryan epoch. It is not all easy to find the derivation of their names from Sanskrit roots. Besides these, water-deities (*Āpas*) the forest-goddess (*Araṇyāni*), tree-gods, (like that residing in the *Aśvattha*), horses, like Dadhikra, cows, etc. were also adopted from the Pre-Āryan cults. There is but one serpent-hymn, that to Ahi Budhnya; and the enemies of Indra generally were serpents and dragons; hence the worship of the serpent, the chief god of the Nāgas,

was not absorbed by Vedic Ārya cult as it was in later times. As the Ṛṣis were inspired poets, the mythopœic instinct worked strongly in them and they conceived numerous other gods to whom they gave genuine Sanskrit names, e. g. Bṛhaspati, Prajāpati, Savitā, Vāyu, etc.

Near the close of the Vedic Age higher thinkers arose. The idea of cosmic order (*ṛta*) was developed. A poetess of the name of Vāk sang the *Devi-Sūkta* in honour of cosmic energy conceived as the mother goddess. The famous Ṛṣi, Nārāyaṇa, who has sanctified Badarī for all time by residing therein, sang the *Puruṣa Sūkta* (R. V., X. 90), the first great Indian cosmogonic hypothesis. But the *Nāsadiya Sūkta* (R. V., X. 129) of Prajāpati Parameṣṭhi marks the high-water level of philosophic conception which no other philosopher of the world has yet transcended.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE AGE OF THE BRĀHMAṆAS C. 1400-1000 B.C.

The dynastic histories after the Mahābhārata war are not very exciting, on account of exhaustion caused by that Armageddon. Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers abdicated sometime after the war ended. Arjunā's grandson, Parīkṣit, second king of that name, ascended the throne. The Nāgas established themselves at Takṣaśilā, assailed Hastināpura and killed Parīkṣit. His son, Janamejaya, third monarch of that name, defeated them. He is then said to have performed a *Sarpasattra* (lit. Serpent-sacrifice, probably a human sacrifice in which Nāgas were offered as victims). He refreshed his horses with fiery liquor when they were wearied[1]. He performed horse-sacrifices and claimed the title of *Sārvabhauma* (emperor)[2]. At his court Vaiśampāyana, first recited the *Bhārata*, composed by his Guru, Veda Vyāsa; it consisted but of 8800 *Ślokas* and it was called *jaya*[3], the story of the victory of the Pāṇḍavas. In the last of the *Yajñas* performed by Janamejaya, he quarelled with the Brāhmaṇa priests who assisted at the sacrifice, and they compelled him to resign his throne to his son Śatānīka and retire to the forest. The great diminution of Kṣatriya princes as a result of the great war had apparently increased the power of the Brāhmaṇas.

In the XIII century B.C. there took place in the Naimiṣa forest on the Gomatī in the Ayodhyā realm a great twelve-year sacrifice, the last great *yajña* in Indian history, the memory of which was cherished for a very

1. S. Br., xi. 5-5-13.
2. A. B., viii. 11.
3. MBh., I. 62-20.

long time after the event. Its great patron was Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, the *Dharmātmā*, great grandson of Janamejaya. His contemporaries were Divākara of the Ikṣvāku family and Senājit, the Bārhadratha king of Magadha. A number of sacrificers with Śaunaka at their head assisted at the great rite. Though they were by the courtesy of later generations called Ṛṣis, they were not Ṛṣis in the teachnical sense of seers (*mantradraṣṭāraḥ*); hence they were sometimes called *avararṣis*, later Ṛṣis. To Śaunaka was recited the Mahābhārata, as recited by the *Sūtas* (Purāṇa reciters). Probably the poem by this time had grown to 20,000 *Ślokas*, and besides the original ballad of the great war included the story of later events and stories of earlier kings.

To Śaunaka were also recited the *Purāṇas*. The *Purāṇas* were originally geneological lists and ballads concerning past events and were recited on state occasions, religious and secular, by heralds (*sutas*, *māgadhas*). They grew as time passed and were collected by Vyāsa into a *Purāṇa Samhitā*, which with many different later additions broke up into the Eighteen Purāṇas of modern times. These Purāṇas speak of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, Divākara, and Senājit in the present tense as reigning kings; hence we may infer that the historical chapters of the Purāṇas were brought up to-date and the canon so far was fixed on the occasion of the Naimiṣāraṇya sacrifices. When lists of dynasties and kings were added after this, the future tense was used as if they were prophecies. The Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa says that in its time the winter solstice occurred at the New moon in Maghā. The *Vedāṅga jyotiṣa*, an ancient astronomical fragment repeats the statement in the form that the sun and moon turned north and south respectively in the months of Māgha and Śrāvaṇa. As this points to the XIII century we may take it that the scholars

assembled in the Naimiṣa forest observed and noted the phenomenon.

The Paurava kingdom was overtaken by troubles at the end of the XIII century B.C. The crops were destroyed by an invasion of *maṭacī* (locusts, cf. Kannada *miḍice*, Telugu *miḍata*), which led to great exodus of the people[1]; probably during the reign of Nicakṣu, son of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa. In the same reign, Hastināpura was washed away by the Gaṅgā and the Paurava capital was transferred to Kauśāmbi, 300 miles away across the South Pañcāla territory. This led to an alliance of the Kurus and the Pañcālas, and they are referred to as the Kuru-Pañcālas in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, which therefore were composed after this event. The capital of the Pañcālas was Kāmpilī, on the old Gaṅgā in Farrukhābād district.

At Indraprastha (Indapatta) ruled a minor branch of the Paurava house, which started from Kakṣasena, brother of Janamejaya. It continued to rule long after Hastināpura was destroyed and is mentioned in Bauddha books as belonging to the Yuddhiṭṭhila gotta (Yudhiṣṭhira Gotra).

In the Panjāb lived the Kekayas, and the Madras. The capital of the former was Girivraja, (to be distinguished from the Girivraja of the Magadhas). It has been identified with Jalālpur on the Jhīlam. The Madras had Sāgalanagara (Siālkoṭ) as their capital. Kāpya Patañcala teacher of Uddālaka Āruṇi was a native of the Madra Country. They have to be distingnished from the Uttara Madras, who like the Uttara Kurus lived beyond the Himālayas, in the sacred region whence Ṛṣis originally came to India.

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1. Ch. Up., I, 10-1.

Beyond the Panjāb was Gāndhāra, with its two great cities of Takṣaśilā (now Bīrmound) and Puṣkalāvati (now Carsada) on the Swāt (Suvāstu) river. It was the resort of scholars.

In the Madhyadeśa, besides the Kuru-Pañcālas, were the Uśīnaras, who along with the Kekayas and the Madras were branches of the Āṇava people. They lived in the extreme north and their capital was Uśīnaragiri, near Kanakhala, the place of pilgrimage where the Gaṅgā issues from the hills. Gārgya Bālāki lived in the land of Uśīnaras. In the extreme south were the Matsyas; their capital was Virāṭanagara, where the Pāṇḍava brothers lived for one year disguised at the end of their exile. It is now Bairāṭ in Jeypore. Its king Dvaitavana was a great warrior and celebrated the *Aśvamedha* near the Sarasvatī.

Videha early in the XII century B.C. was ruled over by the philosopher-king Janaka, the Mahājanaka of Bauddha books, who belonged to the family of the 'Janaka Mahātmas' according to Brāhmaṇa books and 'the family of hermits' according to Bauddha books. He was a *Samrāṭ* and therefore in this century Videha became politically the leading province of Āryāvarta. Otherwise, too, it was great, for under its patronage flourished great thinkers like Uddālaka Āruṇi, Buḍila Aśvatarāśvi, Satyayajña Pauluṣi, Mahāśāla Jābāla, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Śārkarākṣya, Vidagdha Śākalya, Gārgī Vācaknavī, Kahola Kauṣitakya, Uṣasta Cākrāyana, Bhujyu Lāhyāyani, Jāratkārava Ārtabhāga, Aśvala, Svetakatu, greater than all these being Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya. Some of his contemporary kings, like Aśvapati of the Kekayas, Pravāhana Jaivali of the Pañcālas, and Ajātaśatru of Kāśī were also philosphers. At the royal courts of Madhyadeśa, philosophy was the

great subject of discussion, the kings being the teachers of some fundamental doctrines, like the course of the man's migrations between death and rebirth. Brāhmaṇa teachers learnt these doctrines from the kings and not only elaborated them, but evolved other theories, and meditation-practices, some based on the fire-sacrifices and others discovered by themselves.

The capital of the Videha Kingdom was Mithilā, a city of seven *yojanas*, 'fair to see', 'with tanks and gardens beautified', 'its warriors clad in robes of tiger-skins', 'its Brāhmaṇas dressed in Kāśī cloth, perfumed with sandal, decked with gems' and 'its palaces and all their queens in robes of state and diadems', according to the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*. The Videha kingdom which contained 16,000 villages, declined in importance as all kingdoms do after the reign of philosopher-kings.

Aṅga lay to the east of Magadha. One of its kings sacrificed on Mount Viṣṇupāda at Gayā. Its power extended to the sea. Its capital was Campā, near Bhāgalpur. It was fortified with gates, watch-tower and walls.

Of the kingdoms and tribes mentioned above, the *Mahābhārata* says 'the Kauravas, the Pañcālas, the Śālvas, the Matsyas, the Naimiṣas, and the Cedis know the eternal *Dharma* ; the Pañcālas follow the Vedas, the Kauravas, *Dharma*, the Matsyas, truth, the Sūrasenas, sacrifices ; the Māgadhas are experts in understanding the expression of emotions by gestures (*ingitajñā*), the Kosalas, understand looks (*preksitajñā*) ; the Aṅgas abandon the afflicted and sell wives and children ; among the Madras there is no friendship (*samsṛṣṭam*) ; among the Gāndhāras, no purity and the king is both the sacrificer and the priest.'

Kosala was ruled over by the Aikṣvākus, which family continuosly ruled there from its beginning in the IV millennium B.C. till the V century B.C. It was between the Pañcāla kingdom and the Magadha kingdom, which latter was separated from it by the Sadānīrā and extended to the foot of the Himālayas. Its capital, Ayodhyā, 12 *yojanās* in extent was on the banks of the Sarayū. Its other towns were Sāketa, very near Ayodhyā and Śrāvastī. The only notable king of Ayodhyā in this period was Divākara mentioned above.

Kāśi, a province 300 *yojanās* in extent, passed from the hands of its ancient rulers to those of the Brahmadatta family of kings. Its capital was Vārāṇasī (Benares), the walls round which measured 12 *yojanās*. An early king of this period, Dhṛtarāṣṭra was defeated by Sātrājita Satānīka, so much so that the Kāśīs gave up for a time the kindling of the sacred fire. Its most famous king, during this period, Ajātaśattru has been referred to already.

Magadha continued under the Bārhadrathas. Its capital was Girivraja, impregnable because protected by five hills. Its only notable king during this period was Senājit already referred to.

South of the Vindhyas, the most famous kingdom was the ancient one of Vidarbha, founded before the time of Sagara. It was famous for its *mācalas* (probably hunting dogs) which killed tigers. Its capital was Kuṇḍina, in the Amraoti district. Kaliṅga had its own line of kings; it extended from the Vaitaraṇī to the Godāvarī. Its capital was Dantapura. Aśmaka was another kingdom with its capital at Potana. One of its kings was a Rājarṣi according to the *Mahābhārata*. The Bhojas had shipped from Dvārakā to the Vidarbha

country where they built a fortress called Bhojakaṭaka (in the present Ilichpur district). The other people in the Deccan were the Āndhras, the Śabaras, the Pulindas, the Mūtibas, and the Daṇḍakas. South of these tribes lined the Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍiyas, the Cēras and other Tamil tribes.

Literary activity. When the ancient time of hymn-making Ṛṣis was snapped once for all at the end of the Bhārata battle, literary activity turned from creative to critical channels; as usual everywhere in the world the age of inspiration was followed by that of barren scholarship. The Samhitās broke up into various schools (śākhās), on account of differences of pronunciation, readings etc. Different sets of interpretations, traditions and anecdotes about Ṛṣis gathered round each Śākhā. These were embodied along with instructions regarding details of rites and decisions on disputed points, as well as cosmogonic speculations in the books called *Brāhmaṇās*. The earliest of these, the Sama Veda *Pancavimsa Brāhmaṇa* seems to have been begun when the Pauravas still reigned at Hastināpura. The *Taittirīya Veda*, of the *Adhvaryus*, accepted by the Āryanized tribe of Tittiris who lived south of the Vindhyas and took part in the Mahābhārata war, is a peculiar compilation. It is nominally divided like the other Vedas into a Samhitā and a Brāhmaṇa, but there is Brāhmaṇa matter included in the Samhitā and *mantra*-material in the Brāhmaṇa; perhaps on account of this, it is called the *Kṛṣṇa (black) Yajur Veda.* The other Adhvaryu Veda is the *Śukla* (white) *Yajur Veda*, where the Yajur Veda *mantras* are all gathered into the Samhitā and the Brāhmaṇa matter all put into the Brāhmaṇa called the *Śatapatha*, which seems to be the latest of the Brāhmaṇas, as also the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* of the Ṛgveda and the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* of the Atharva Veda. To the Sāma Veda are

attached several other late Brāhmaṇas. To the Brāhmaṇas were attachsd Āraṇyakas dealing with matters studied in forests.

A great wave of pessimism was one of the results of the terrible carnage of the great war. The doctrine of reincarnation which had been fully developed by this time accentuated the pessimism by holding up to view an endless vista of births and deaths. The long cycle of Vedic sacrifices (*karmānga*) palled on people's minds and the wholesale slaughter of animals disgusted them. Bold thinkers among the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas turned to the path of knowledge (*jñānamārga*); at first they converted the outer sacrifice (*bahiryāga*) into the inner, mental, sacrifice, (*antaryāga*). They took to the methods of meditation more or less allied to the Ārya fire-rites which were evolved by the *avararṣis*. Thirty-two of these, called Vidyās, were embodied in the works called *Upaniṣads*, appended to the four Vedas and hence called *Vedaśiras* (head of the Veda) and *Vedānta* (end of the Veda). Uddālaka, Svetaketu, Yājnavalkya, and Satyakāma were the chief *avararṣis* to describe these practices and attendant experiences. The most important as well as the earliest of these *Upaniṣads* are the *Taittirīya*, *Aitareya*, *Chāndogya*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, *Kaṭha*, and *Kena*. Some scholars regard the *Upaniṣads* as anti-ritualistic; this is wrong, because, not to speak of actual rituals included in them, several of the *Vidyās* are but rites transferred to the world of the mind.

The four āśramas or stages of a Brāhmaṇa's life, of which there was an adumbration in the age Mantras, were now systematically established of the *Brahmacārī* or Vedic student was regulated by a strict discipline. The *Brahmacārī* and the *Gṛhastha*

(the student and the householder) had to devote themselves to the acquisition of sacred and secular lore. The four rainy months beginning from the full moon of the *Śrāvaṇa* were devoted to learning the Veda by rote, the next four cold months to learning other lore and the four months of the hot weather to agricultural work. The *Gṛhastha*, had also to keep up the daily fire, to assist at sacrifice and to raise sons, to whom the charge of the family was handed over at the proper season, when the man retired with his wife to the forest to lead the life of the *Vānaprastha* or semi-ascetic and later to renounce the world altogether, become a *Bhikṣu* or *Sanyāsi*, study the Upaniṣads, practise the *Vidyās*, and reach *Mokṣa*. The belief grew that *Mokṣa* or release from *Samsāra*, or compulsorily revolving in the endless wheel of bodily birth and death on account of the irresistible force of desire (*kāma*), by practising the *Vidyās* of the *Upaniṣads* was open only to the Brāhmaṇa *Sanyāsi*. As a means of training for this consummation, the *Sanyāsi* had to take the five great vows (*mahāvrata*) viz., abstention from injuring living beings, truthfulness, abstention from appropriating the property of others, continence and liberality, as well as the five minor vows (*upavrata*,) viz., abstaining from anger, service of the *Guru*, avoidance of rashness, cleanliness and purity in eating (i.e., not eating meat, but only grains, dried up roots and leaves). The *Sanyāsi* should not remain in a village for more than a day, except in the rainy (*varṣa*) season, when for four months together he had to remain in the same place, perform the four-monthly (*cāturmāsya*) retreat accompanied by ceremonials.

Education was systematically organized in this age. The *Brahmacāri*, that was to be, went to the teacher, with sacrificial twigs (*samit*) in hand, and received *Upanayanam* or initiation into the *Sāvitri* (*Gāyatri*)

mantra. Even in those days there were Brāhmaṇas 'by birth only,' i.e., those who were not educated. The usual course of studies, such as Svetaketu of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* underwent, lasted for twelve years; but even then his father found his education was incomplete.

In the same *Upaniṣad*, Nārada, when he sought the Higher knowledge from Sanatkumāra, gave the latter a list of what he knew already, and it was 'the Ṛgveda, the Yajur Veda, the Sāma Veda, the Atharvaṇa, the Itihāsa-Purāṇa, the Veda of Vedas (grammar), the Pitṛya ceremonies (rites in honour of the dead), the Rāśī (science of numbers), the Vākovākya (logic, chiefly based on aphorisms embodying analogies), the Ekāyana (ethics), the Devavidyā (Nirukta, critical study of the functions of the Gods,) the Brahmavidyā (sciences of Vedic phonetics, prosody and Vedic rites, in other words study of the *mantras*), the Bhūtavidyā (science of exorcism), the Kṣatravidyā (science of weapons), the Naksatravidyā (science of the stars), the Sarpavidyā (science of serpents), and the Devajanavidyā (Fine Arts). Another *Upaniṣad* adds the following further list of things studied, viz., Ślokas (poetry), Anuvyākhyana and Vyākhyana (commentaries). There was thus a rapid development of sacred and lay lore in this age, a formidable outburst of intellectual activity, because the kings being indistinguished, their patronage of Vedic rites declined and the Brāhmaṇa intellect, released from perpetual service at the fire-altar, developed in new ways. The intellectual ferment working strongly, students travelled far in search of teachers of special subjects and scholars also led an itinerary life in search of disputants or patrons. But it was the norm for the pupils to live in the house of the teachers (*Gurukula.*). At the end of the course, the teachers dismissed the disciple with the words, 'Say what

is true. Do thy duty. Do not neglect the study of the Veda. After having brought to the teacher the desired reward, do not cut the line of progeny. Do not swerve from duty. Do not neglect what is useful. Do not neglect greatness."

Towns where great teachers resided were university towns. Of these Takṣaśilā in Gāndhāra was the most famous. Scholars of all classes went there to learn the four Vedas and the eighteen kinds of knowledge. The Kuru-Pañcāla country was the centre of Brāhmaṇa culture. Vārāṇasī and Mithilā were resorted to by people in search of the higher knowledge (*parā vidyā*).

A greater *rapprochement* between the Ārya and the Dasyu religious practices than in the long age of the *mantras* must have occurred in this age. One result of this, the influence of *yoga* practices on the development of the Upaniṣad Vidyās, has already been noticed. A welding of the division of the Āryas into *Varṇas* with reference to the Yajña and the social and occupational divisions of the Dasyus, and an accentuation of the idea of class endogamy, led to the development of numerous castes with somewhat rigid bounds. Readjustments of the social importance of classes also took place. The Rathakāras, companions of kings in the age of the *mantras*, now ranked along with Vaiśyas. Manual workers gradually sank in social status.

The speech of the *Udīcyas*, northerners, was celebrated for its purity. Hence Brāhmaṇas went to the north for purposes of study[1], and Uddālaka Āruṇi is said to have driven about among the people of the northern country[2], and his son Śvetaketu learnt all the arts at Takṣaśilā.

1. K. Br. vii. 9.
2. S, Br. xi, 4. 1-1.

But intermarriages of men of higher castes with women of lower ones still prevailed to some extent. Select Kṣatriyas, celebrated for spiritual wisdom, like the great Janaka of Videha, or Aśvapati of the Kekayas, could still not only hold their own with learned Brāhmaṇas, but become teachers of Upaniṣad Vidyās.

The powers of kings, increased for want of check by the Kṣatriya nobles, a large number of whom was slain in the Great War. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the relations of kings to the other *varṇas* is thus described. "The Brāhmaṇa is 'a receiver of gifts, a drinker of Soma, a seeker of food and liable to removal at will'....... Hence the priest was still at the mercy of the political power of the king. The Vaiśya is described as 'tributary to another, to be lived on by another, and to be oppressed at will.' From the point of view of the Kṣatriya this indicates that the exactions of the kings from commoners were limited only by practical considerations of expediency ....The Śūdra is still described as 'the servant of another, to be expelled at will and to be slain at will' "[1]

More crimes are referred to in the Brāhmaṇas than in the Mantras, "like killing an embryo, the murder of a Brāhmaṇa and the murder of a man" and "stealing gold and drinking the Surā, treachery to the king" which are recognized as capital crimes. "In the case of theft in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad we find the axe-ordeal applied, apparently under the direction of the king"[2]. As the king is said to wield the rod of justice, he may have held the trial himself in most cases.

Of civil law too, we have some references. "The use of an ordeal in this connection is attested only by the

1. C. H. I., I, pp. 127-128.
2. *Ib.*, p. 133.

case of Vatsa who proved his purity of descent, which was assailed, by walking unharmed through fire. .... We know for certain that a Brāhmaṇa had preference in his law cases.......As regards the substance of the law we learn the outlines of the law of succession : a father might in his life-time divide his property among his sons, in which case he seemed to have had a freehand as to their shares : if he grew old and helpless, they themselves might divide it, while in the division among the sons on his death the older son received the larger share. Women were excluded from the inheritance..............There is no trace of the development of the law of contract."[1]

Houses were still built of wood, and, as still obtains in villages, the door frames, doors, pillars, as well as domestic furniture of wood were heavily filled with carvings. Hence we have not even a single relic of the architecture of the period. The use of coins increased ; we hear of a new coin, the *Śatamāna*, of the weight of a hundred Kṛṣaṇalas, the latter being a seed used as a unit of weight. The style of clothing remained unaltered. Silk cloth weaving, as an indigenous industry, is mentioned. The people ate the same as before. Though it was still the custom to offer bull's meat to the Gods and to kill a calf for the sake of a guest, the sentiment against beef-eating was growing apace, for the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says, 'were one to eat flesh of an ox or a cow, there would be, as it were, a going on to the end or to destruction'. The amusements of the period were the same as in the previous one, and primitive acting developed from the dances of ancient times.

South of the Vindhyas, the Tittiris had become thoroughly Aryanized so as to have a Vedic Śākhā of their own. They and the Āndhras, the Cōḷas, the Cēras, the

1. *Ib.*, p. 134.

Pāṇḍiyas, and other tribes led a peaceful life. The Cōḷas, Cēras, and Paṇḍiyas had organized themselves into kingdoms, and are said to have taken part in the Bhārata battle, and the name of a Pāṇḍiya king, translated into Sanskrit, is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. The Cēra kingdom is referred to in an Āraṇyaka.

The Trade of North India as well as of South India with foreign countries increased much in volume. Under the XVII dynasty of Egypt (1580-1350 B.C.) " there are numerous records of the receipt of articles of ivory, chairs, tables, chests, statues and whips,"[1] received from Punt (Somaliland), then the entrepot of trade between India and Egypt. Under the XVIII or Theban dynasty, ebony, ivory, cinnamon, apes, monkeys, dogs, panther skins, oil, precious stones and other Eastern treasure were taken to Egypt. When Ramases III ruled (1198—1167 B.C.), sapphire and other precious stones, garment of ' royal linen ' and cinnamon were obtained from India[2] through Punt. The knowledge which Indian merchants hence acquired of the geography of the regions near the sources of the Nile was embodied in the Purāṇas. Lieut. Speke, the discovorer of one of the sources of the Nile, tells us that he planned his expedition in accordance with the knowledge he derived from the Purāṇas and found it helpful.[3] Before the close of the II millennium B.C. cinnamon became one of the ingredients of the sacred anointing oil of the Hebrews and cinnamon was an Indian product. Sapphire too was procured from India and the Tables of the Law given to Moses were inscribed on it. Silk was introduced from China or Malacca in this age, and along with silk probably also betel-pepper (called 'the leaf' in Indian

1. S. P., p. 61.
2. *Ib.*, pp. 121-122.
3. *Ib.*, p. 230.

languages) and sugar for which the Indian name is a metaphorical extension of the meaning of the word for 'sand' (*Śarkarā*). The intercourse with China led to the latter country taking over the Nakṣatra system from India where it was worked out in the early Vedic age.

The higher thinkers of the age evolved exceedingly interesting cosmogonic speculations and ethical and philosophical teachings. One theory was that 'all this (cosmos) was at first water,' and some centuries later this theory was propounded by one of the seven sages of Hellas. These cosmogonic ideas were embodied in the sacrifices. "In the building up of the fire-altar the Brāhmaṇas sought to symbolize the constitution of the universe from the *Puruṣa*, and in the theology of the Brāhmaṇas the *Puruṣa* is identified with *Prajāpati*, 'lord of creatures,' and the sacrifice is conceived as constantly recurring in order to maintain the existence of the universe. To render this possible is the end of the fire-altar, the building of which is the reconstruction of the universe in the shape of *Prajāpati*."[1] Thus was evolved the teaching beautifully expressed in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, that Prajāpati created the world with sacrifice and said 'Produce (everything) with this, it alone will be the fulfiller (lit. milker) of all (your desires).'[2] This principle has since inspired the conduct of the noblest among the people of India.

Higher metaphysical experiences (and not merely the metaphysical speculations of other lands) were attained by the practice of the Vidyās of the Upaniṣads; underlying them, like the gold threads round which gems are strung in a garland, are the principles (1) that man's life consists of a series of births in this world and deaths,

1. C.H.I., I. p. 142.
2. B. G., iii, 10.

which means birth in post-mortem worlds, where he reaps some of the fruits of his actions in this, (2) that the self or *ātmā* is conscious, blissful being, and when imprisoned in a mind and body, endows them with a passing reflection of its Light, (3) that this *ātmā* is of the same nature as the *ātmā* of the cosmos-*Brahma Paramam*, the supreme Reality and (4) the realization of this Reality, which the mind cannot reach, is *mokṣa* or release from compulsory incarceration of the *ātmā* in a mind and body. The paths leading to a realization of the *ātmā* (*devayāna*) as well as those leading to post-mortem worlds and back to this solid earth (*pitṛyāna*) are also described in the Upaniṣads.

Dasyu religious rites, untouched by Āryan influences, existed side by side with Ārya ones, as they do to-day, for the Āryas were always the *elite* of society and the Dasyus formed the bulk of the population. Dasyu rites had not yet found literary expression, but the closer *rapprochement* between the Ārya and the Dasyu, already spoken of, led to the elevation in status of Dasyu Gods. Into the Atharvaṇa Veda Samhitā a hymn to Skambha, the divine phallus, had already found its way. There Skambha is called 'the secret Prajāpati,'[1] and the analogy between the fire-drill which begets fire and the *membrum virile* is suggested in several Vedic hymns. Śiva, originally the terrible red hunter-God of the mountaineers and hence euphemistically called 'the auspicious,' 'the Healer,' because the lord of the hilly region where healing drugs are obtainable, 'the Lord of the Ascetics who resides with them in mountainous tracts and the Pillar (*Stambha*) where *tapas* (austerities), *ṛtam* (order), *vratam* (self-control), and *sraddhā* (zeal) reside, were in this age amalgamated with Rudra, the Great

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1. A. V., X. 7.

God, (Mahādeva). Viṣṇu, the God of the pastoral tracts, the Puruṣa who was constantly, like the animals which grow in that region, used as the victim of sacrifices (*yajño vai viṣṇuḥ*), the benign sustainer of the world as his cattle sustain human life, was regarded with as much veneration as Śiva. The snake-worship of the Nāgas began to blend with these various cults. But above all these popular cults shone the light of the teachings of the *avararṣis* embodied in the Upaniṣads which shine with undiminished brilliance even to-day after the passage of numerous centuries and have inspired all later philosophic thought of India.

CHAPTER IX.

A PERIOD OF GREAT LITERARY ACTIVITY
(*c.* 1000 B.C.-600 B.C.)

The chief North Indian states of this period are called the *Ṣoḍasa Mahājanapada*, the sixteen great provinces, by the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. They were Kāśī, Kosala, Anga, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Cedi, Vatsa, Kuru, Pañcāla, Matsya, Sūrasena, Aśmaka, Avantī, Gāndhāra and Kamboja.

Uttarāpatha is the name given by the *Mahābhārata* to the North West of India and said to comprise the Yauna, Kamboja, Gāndhāra, Kirāta and Barbara[1]. The Gāndhāra province was also the home of the other four in this age. The Yaunas were probably the ancestors of the Greeks whom Alexander found in this region when he invaded India. Their name is derived from *Javan*, which changed to *Ionian* later on. The Yavanas were *mlecchas* (foreigners) who had formed a part of the contingents of North Western tribes who took part in the Bhārata battle. The Barbaras lived in Kāśmīr, which was then included in Gāndhāra. The Kirātas were Himālayan hunter-tribes whose girls sold dried Soma to the Brāhmaṇas for sacrificial purposes. The Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* mentions Naggati (Nagnajit) of Gāndhāra, Dvimukha, (Durmukha) of Pañcāla, Nami of Videha and Karakaṇḍu of Kaliṅga as contemporary kings and patrons of Jaina monks[2]. Kamboja was not far

1. M.Bh. xii. 207. 43.
2. S.B.E. xlv. p. 87.

from Gāndhāra. Its capital was Rājapura. A Kamboja Aupamanyava was a teacher of the Upaniṣad period.

The Pauravas ruled at Kauśāmbī (now Kosam, near Allahābād). A great Pañcāla king of the name of Culani is mentioned in Pāli and Sanskrit literature. The king formed the scheme of being the *Samrāṭ* of North India and laid siege to Mathurā. Another king of Kāmpilī named Sañjaya resigned kingly power and became a Jaina monk. Another king Durmukha made extensive conquests. Śatānīka attacked Campā, capital of Aṅga. Later on the Pañcālas adopted the Saṅgha form of government.

The Malla territory (Gorakhpur district) had as capital Kusinārā (Kasiā). It was ruled by kings of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, but became a tribal republic at the end of the period.

Cedi, south of the Yamunā, is now the Bundelkhand territory. Its capital was Śuktimatī (Sotthivati), perhaps near Banda. It was a famous kingdom from Vedic times.

The **Śurasena** country had its capital at Mathurā on the Yamunā. The Śūrasenas were an inconsiderable tribe politically.

Avantī is modern Mālwā. It had two capitals, Ujjayinī and Māhiṣmatī, and sometimes different kings reigned at the same time in the two capitals. Branches of the Yādava line, Sāttvatas and Bhojas, ruled there.

Aśmaka was next to Avantī. At one time it was the vassal of Kāśī. At another time the Aśmakas conquered Kaliṅga and ruled over it.

Kāśī was the most powerful kingdom in the early part of this period. Hence it is frequently mentioned in the *Jātaka*, which calls it the chief city of India. Its

monarchs who belonged to the Brahmadatta family aspired for the dignity of *sabbarājūnam aggarā*, 'first above all kings'. Aśvasena was the king about the end of the IX century B.C.; his son was Pārśva, who reorganized Jaina monachism early in the VIII cent.B.C. The power of Kāśī gradually expanded and Aśmaka came under its sway. King Manoja subdued Kosala, Magadha and Aṅga. The Kosalan king was killed. But the tide of fortune soon changed.

Kosala continued under the Aikṣvākus, but shrank in power during the earlier part of this period. But when the Brahmadatta king of Kāśī killed the king of Kosala and carried off his queen, the Kosalan kings Vaṅka and Dabbasena humbled Kāśī and finally Kaṁsa conquered the kingdom at the end of this period.

Magadha continued under the Bārhadrathas playing no distinguished part in the history of the time.

Videha in the earlier part of this period had constant struggles with Kāśī, till it fell. The Licchavis and Vajjis settled there and formed there a confederacy of eight tribes (*aṭṭakula*), with Vesālī (Vaiśālī) as capital. A triple wall encircled the city, each a *yojana* distant from the next, with three gates and a watch-tower. The Jñātrika clan to which Mahāvīra belonged had Kuṇḍagrāma, one of the suburbs of Vesālī, as its capital. Manu calls the Licchavis as *vrātya Rājanyas*, probably because they favoured the Jaina cult.

Aṅga was prosperous in this period. From its shores ships sailed to Suvarṇabhūmi (Burmah) for trade.

The states south of the Vindhyas continued to flourish, but nothing is known of their doings during this period.

Just before 600 B.C. important events took place which established a new balance of power in Northern India. Mahā-Kosala became king of Kosala. He was a very powerful monarch and so Kosala became a paramount factor in the politics of North India. In his time Kosala " must have bordered on the Gaṅgā in its sweep downwards in a south-easterly direction from the Himālayas to the plains at the modern Allahābād. Its northern frontier must have been in the hills, in what is now Nepāl; its southern boundary was the Gaṅgā; and its eastern boundary was the eastern limit of the Sākiya territory. For the Sākiyas claimed to be Kosalans. The the total extent of Kosala was therefore but little less than that of France today."[1] The Sākiya chief of Kapilavastu was one of its feudatories.

The relative exhaustion of the martial spirit caused by the Mahābhārata war continued during this period too. Military activity being thus dammed, human energies burst out in other channels. An unexampled output of literary work characterized this period; The kings vied with each other in patronizing scholars. Indian Rājās of all ages down to the present, however petty they may have been, have been distinguished for including in their *entourage* as many poets and scholars as possible. They themselves were carefully educated in their youth and took special pride in being experts in the arts and the sciences.

The subjects dealt with in the Vedāṅgas, or subordinate Vedic studies had already begun to be investigated in the age of the Brāhmaṇas. Therein appear discussions on sundry questions of phonetics, etymology, accent, and other subjects, secular in themselves, but necessary for the correct interpretation and use of the

1. C.H.I., I., p. 178.

Vedic *Mantras*. These debates were held in the schools of Brāhmaṇa scholars. From these debates gradually evolved the sciences subsidiary to the Veda, the *Vedāṅgas*. They are (1) *Śikṣā*, phonetics, (2) *Vyākaraṇa*, grammar, (3) *Nirukta*, etymology and higher criticism, (4) *Jyotiṣa*, astronomy, (5) *Kalpa*, ritual and (6) *Chandas*, metrics and music. For some time the results of this discussion were taught by word of mouth for the habit of writing books had not yet become popular. Afterwards *Sūtras* were composed on these subjects. The *Sūtras* were composed after decades or centuries of discussion of a subject in the schools where it was taught; hence the date of a *Sūtra* is very much later than that of the origin of a school of thought. Thus Pāṇini's Vyākaraṇa Sūtras were written after teachers had taught the subject and probably a few of them had written books on it.

Rationalistic schools of thought also arose. Higher thought got released from the trammels of Vedic lore and took original lines of growth. Kapila and his disciple Pañcasikha worked out the *Sāṅkhya*, a school of philosophy which is the boldest and most rational analysis of man's experiences of the cosmos which man has ever attempted. It is not behindhand of the western rationalism of to-day and will never become antiquated however far modern science can advance. The *Yoga* is the application of *Sāṅkhya* principles, with the addition of the postulation of a perfect Being acting as Guru, or the objective of the practice of meditation for reaching a perfect mastery of the mind. The fundamental doctrines of the *Sāṅkhya* and the *Yoga* are the dualism involved in regarding man and matter (*puruṣa* and *prakṛti*) as fundamentally opposed entities, and the theory of *Satkārya-vāda*, i.e., that being cannot come out of non-being and hence the life of the world consists in the gradual transmutation of pre-existing material. Opposed to this was

the theory of *Asatkāryavāda*, i.e., that the effect does not exist already potentially in the cause. Two secular lines of thought based on this theory were the *Vaiśeṣika* and the *Nyāya*, which taught the atomic constitution of the world and recognized a plurality of ultimate factors of the cosmos. Along with these non-Vedic (*avaidika*), heterodox rationalistic schools of philosophy developed two others which were *āstika*, i.e. recognized the authority of the Veda, and derived their teachings from the critical interpretaion of the former or latter division of the Veda, the Karmakāṇḍa or Jñānakāṇḍa, i.e., the *Mantras* and the *Brāhmaṇas* or the *Upaniṣadas* respectively. These were the schools of the *Pūrva Mīmāmsā* and *Uttara Mīmāmsā*, the word *mīmāmsā* meaning exegesis. The *Vedānta Sūtra* chapters criticising Bauddha and Jaina theories must be later additions. These six schools of thought were called the six *Darśanas* or viewpoints; they were the six ancient *mokṣa śāstras*, books that propounded the ways of ending the ceaseless round of births and deaths.

Only one of the Puruṣārthas, 'aims of life,' was *Mokṣa*. The others were *Dharma*, ethical and social duty, *Artha*, discharge of royal functions and the earning of wealth, and *Kāma*, enjoyment of life's pleasures. These subjects too were studied in the schools of the Brāhmaṇa scholars.

The *Sūtra* was a special form of prose literature in which manuals on the *Vedāṅgas*, the *Darśanas*, and the *Caturvarga* (the four objects of life) were composed in this and later ages. The style of the *Sūtras* is as condensed as that of the Brāhmaṇa books is prolix and their language midway between that of the Brāhmaṇas and classical Sanskrit. The *Sūtra* was considered as the thread on which was strung the elaborate oral expositions of the teachers, which were handed down by tradition

and later composed as *Bhāṣyas* (commentaries). Of these the *Śikṣā Sūtras* were many, one at least for each Śākhā, and were hence called *Prātiśākhyas*. Of *Vyākaraṇa* there were several schools, one of which, that of Indra, is mentioned in the *Taittirīya Veda*. His school, called the *Aindram*, is represented only by a few late works. Several grammarians flourished, one of whom was Śākaṭāyana, before Pāṇini composed his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, which has wrung the admiration of all students of Sanskrit and driven its rivals out of the field. Pāṇini lived at the end of this age, though several modern scholars would drag him down by two or three centuries. On the *Nirukta*, we have Yāska's work as well as the metrical *Bṛhaddevata* of Śaunaka, neither of which is a *Sūtra* and which belong to the very end of this age. Of *Jyotiṣa*, excepting the fragment of *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, referred to in the last chapter, we have nothing else. Probably the other works on the subjects were absorbed by the Purāṇas. The *Kalpa-Sūtra* was subdivided into (a) *Śrauta Sūtra*, the Sūtra dealing with the ritual of the public *yajñas* for which the first three Samhitās (*Śruti*, revelation) were compiled; these *Śrauta Sūtras* were composed because the *Śrauta* ritual was declining in popularity and it was feared that the details of the rites would slip from memory. (b) *Gṛhya Sūtra*, manuals of domestic rites for use in which each Sūtrakāra compiled his own *mantra samhitā*, from the still floating *mantra-material* not useful for *Śrauta karma*, more or less like the *Atharva Veda Samhitā*, the collection of *mantras* used in domestic rites in the Vedic age; (c) *Dharma Sūtra*, canon law describing the *Varṇāśrama dharma*, duties of the stages of life appropriate to each Varṇa, a few rites not described in the Gṛhya, besides civil and criminal law, and (d) *Śulva Sūtra*, dealing with the geometry needed for laying out the sacrificial hall and

the fire altar, "The design of the sacrificial ground with its most important constituent parts made the construction of right angles, squares, and circles, as well as the transformation of plane figures into others of equal area, a matter of necessity. To sacrificial experts it was of the utmost moment that the measurement of the sacrificial ground by means of cords (*Śulva*) stretched between stakes should be carried out accurately according to rule. These practical requirements resulted in a considerable aggregate of geometrical knowledge, including the Pythagorean proposition [which Pythagoras learnt from India] ....Thus the ritual experts understood how to transform rectangles into squares, squares into circles, as well as *vice versa*. It is probable that such geometrical knowledge based on practical operations goes back even to the time of the Vedic hymns."[1] Gautama and Vasiṣṭha were early North Indian and Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, South Indian *Sūtrakāras*. Sāṅkhāyana probably belonged to the X century B.C. and Āśvalā-yana of Kosala, to the VII century. The latter calls Vaiśampāyana *Mahā-bhāratācārya*. Much of this Sūtra literature is lost. There must have been a complete *Kalpa Sūtra* for each of the *Śākhās* of the Trayī; but Āpastamba's is the only complete *Kalpa Sūtra* now available. Of the others, one part or other has alone escaped the ravages of time. At present about a dozen *Śrauta Sūtras*, more than a dozen *Gṛhya Sūtras*, and some half-a-dozen *Dharma-Sūtras* have survived. These *Sūtras* claimed to be based on the Vedas and to record the tradition remembered (*smṛti*) from Vedic times. Of the *Chandas Sūtras*, that of Piṅgala is noteworthy for mentioning the seven notes of the scale, *sa*, *ri*, *ga*, *ma*, *pa*, *dha*, *ni*.

1. I. P., p. 192.

The other branches of knowledge also were provided with manuals. Kapila composed the *Sāṅkhya Sūtras*, (as also Pañcaśikha), Patañjali, the *Yoga Sūtras*, Gautama, the *Nyāya Sūtras*, Kanāda, the *Vaiśesika Sūtras*, Jaimini, the *Pūrva Mīmāmsā*, and Bādarāyaṇa, the *Uttara Mīmāmsā*, or *Vedānta Sūtras*. The first of these has not been discovered; of the rest we cannot be certain that the texts we now have are exactly as the authors composed them, for these books were not written but memorized and expounded by long lines of teachers' of each school, and interpolations were freely introduced if it was felt that they brought out fully the ideas of the founder of the school. Hence it is not right to attempt to fix the age of these books from stray phrases or allusions. Besides these, crass materialism was taught in the *Bṛhaspati Sūtras*. It was called *Cārvāka* or *Lokāyata*. The art of Government (*daṇḍanīti*) was taught in the schools of Uśanas, Bṛhaspati, Bhāradvāja, Parāśara, Viśālākṣa and Piśuna. The ancient works on these subjects have been either lost or incorporated in later works. *Ayurveda* (medicine) was taught by Ātreya and Kapisthalla and his six pupils, Agniveśa, Bala, Jātukarṇa, Parāśara, Hārita and Kṣārapāṇi. Agniveśa's pupil Caraka wrote a *Samhitā* on medicine. The text of this work which we have now was perhaps revised by another Caraka, who lived in the II century A.D. The *Caraka Samhitā* is a splendid treatise, considering the age in which it was written. Among other things it describes an ideal hospital; it prescribes the administration of vegetable drugs as well as preparations of gold and other metals. The science of medicine whose existence is testified to by the mention of the numerous diseases and their remedies in the Atharva Veda Samhitā was developed without interruption from Vedic times. Suśruta wrote on **medicine and surgery, describing 127 surgical instruments,**

some so sharp as to split a hair; the anatomical knowledge derived from cutting up sacrificial victims which had to be done, not clumsily but skilfully, so that the dish might be fit for the Gods, was considerable even in the Vedic age. *Dhanur Vidyā* (archery) was taught by Viśvāmitra and Bhāradvāja; the great teacher of archery in the *Mahābhārata* was Droṇa, the Brāhmaṇa. Nārada, Bharata, Kalināthạ, Pavana, and others taught the *Gandharva Vidyā* (music). Books on divination (not planetary astrology) also existed. Śilāli and Kṛśāśva founded two schools of dancing (*nāṭya*). The dancing was both religious and secular, and the dancers (*kuśilava, śailuṣa*) were in costume. Thence arose in the next period the literary drama. The primitive religious and secular dancing accompanied by singing, continued among the populace, as it does still in various parts of India. Pāṇini mentions (besides the *Bhikṣu Sūtra* or *Vedanta Sūtra* studied by Sanyāsīs), *Naṭa Sūtra*; this shows that books on dancing existed in his days. Books on technical subjects, e.g. *Śilpa* (art-work), must have also existed for Pāṇini distinguishes the names of those who study the texts on those subjects, which end in *vidyā* or *lakṣaṇa*, by a special adjective. The whole circle of sciences and arts was touched in this age. A few of these works exist now, others have been quoted from and yet others have been referred to by later authors or incorporated in later works, but many have been destroyed by the jealous hands of time. Writing must have been known in this age and it must have been evolved from the pictorial alphabet discovered on the relics of the Pre-Āryan *Saindhava* culture of Moheñjō Dārō. Written books are referred to in the last *mantras* of the Atharva Veda Samhitā; but ancient Indians relied chiefly on the tablets of their wonderful memory for inditing their books on.

Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka, composed a treatise on the *Kāma Śāstra* and Bābhravya a native of Pañcāla, specially noted for studies on this subject, condensed it into seven sections containing 150 chapters of *Sūtras*. This Bābhravya was perhaps the same as the author of the *Kramapāṭha* of the Ṛgveda, whose personal name was Gālava, Bābhravya being a *Gotra* name. In this period Dattaka, Cārāyaṇa, Suvarṇanābha, Ghoṭakamukha, Gonardīya, Goṇikāputra and Kacumāra, each took up one section of Bābhravya's work and composed a treatise on it. Kauṭilya mentions numerous predecessors of him who wrote on the Artha Śāstra.

The systematic organization of educational work was necessitated by the great increase of literary and scientific works. The *upanayana* rite (initiation ceremony) was elaborated for the three *varṇas*. This ceremony was regarded so important that if a person belonging to one of the three higher *varṇas* failed to undergo it and be 'reborn in the Veda' he lost the prerogatives of his caste and became an outcaste. The Brahmacārī was ordained to wear a girdle, silk upper garments and lower garments of fibre and to carry a staff (*daṇḍa*). The length of the course varied from 12 to 48 years. The yearly term began with the *upākarma* rite on the full moon of Śravaṇa, an attenuated ghost of which still survives in Southern India. The pupils resided with the teacher, rendered him personal service and even earned by begging food for use in his house. The teaching was individual. Extremely rigid rules were laid for pupils, regulating their food, deportment, manners and conduct. Strict discipline was enforced. The teacher was expected to love his pupil as his own son; punishment was mild. The teacher should receive no fees, but might accept a present at the end of the course, which was nominal except in the case of rich

pupils. This kind of education prevailed almost up to the present time but is now practically dead. When the course was over, the pupil performed a bathing ceremony and became a *Snātaka.* Most *Snātakas* married, but some passed at once to the *Sanyāsa āśrama*; a few remained Brahmacārīs all their life. Ordinarily education was carried on in villages, but cities where teachers congregated were university towns, such as Takṣaśilā. where Pāṇini taught grammar and Pythagoras learnt Indian wisdom and Kāśī, where Suśruta taught surgery and which is still the headquarter of old Indian learning.

Information regarding the life of the people in this age is derivable from the *Gṛhya* and *Dharma Sūtras.* The former trace the life of the individual within the mother's womb to death, for every incident of life had a rite attached to it. These rites were partly magical and superstitious, such as the attempt to turn the foetus into a male in the third or fourth month of its life by the *pumsavana* ceremony. The *Dharma Sūtras* deal with social life, civil and criminal law, and also the rites left undescribed in the *Gṛhya Sūtras*. In some rites are noticeable the almost complete welding of Dasyu customs and Ārya ones. Though generally they are fire-rites, *bali* offerings cast on the ground to reach the Vedic as well as non-Vedic gods and demons are prescribed. Modern rules of pollution of food had not been evolved, for even a *Śūdra* might prepare meals for a member of a higher caste (*varṇa*). The sentiment against slaughter in the name of sacrifice gradually grew strong, for images of animals made of meal were begun to be offered to the gods; but animal sacrifices and meat-eating still prevailed. Cow-killing for sacrifices and for honouring guests, continued but was proscribed by some law-givers. Different Dasyu customs mixed with the Ārya rites in

different parts of the country ; hence the prescriptions of the *Gṛhya Sūtras* are not uniform.

In the matter of marriage, *jāti* (clan or family) was as important as *varṇa;* the norm was endogamy with regard to the *varṇa* and exogamy to the *gotra;* but mixed marriages were not uncommon ; the issue of mixed marriages did not belong to the *varṇa* of the father, though recognized legally. The central rite of the marriage ceremony was the taking of seven steps by the bride-groom and the bride (*saptapadi*) ; but different local customs gathered round the central rite and were regarded as compulsory ; widows, if sonless, were expected to bear sons by the levirate marriage.

The funeral rites were of the nature of the human sacrifice ; as in the latter, the wife of the *yajamāna* (the sacrificer) was made to lie by the side of the victim, in the former the wife of the dead man was made to lie by his side and the woman was recalled to 'the world of the living' by the recitation of the same *mantra*. Into these rites, too, local customs entered and propitiation of demons was resorted to.

From a rural outlook were written the *Gṛhya Sūtras* because the bulk of Brāhmaṇas, then as till recently, lived in villages and pursued their avocations subsidiary to the Brāhmaṇa *varṇāśrama*. The *Dharma Sūtras* deal with the larger social life of towns.

The king was the protector of the realm : "it is his part to pay attention to the special laws of districts, castes (*jāti*) and families, and make the four orders—(*varṇas*, castes in a general sense) fulfill their duties. "The summary includes punishing those who wander from the path of duties, not injuring trees that bear fruit, guarding against falsification of weights and measures, not taking for his own use the property of his subjects

(except as taxes), providing for the widows of his soldiers, exempting from taxation a learned priest, a royal servant, those without protectors, ascetics, infants, very old men, students, widows who have returned to their families and *pradattas*, (doubtful, perhaps girls promised in marriage).'[1] The king administered justice, both civil and criminal with the help of his council and his chaplain (*purohita*), in accordance with 'the Veda, the Dharma Śāstras, the Aṅgas and the Purāṇas.' One law-giver ordains that the king " shall build a town (*pur*) and a dwelling (*veśma*) each with a door, facing South. The dwelling (palace) is within the *pur* and to the east of the dwelling shall be a hall called the 'invitation' (guest) place. South of the *pur* shall be an assembly-house (*sabhā*), having doors on the south and north sides so that it shall be in plain view within and without. There shall be fires in all these places (burning) perpetually, and offering to the Fire-(god) shall there be made regularly, just as to the sacred house-fire. He shall put up as guests in the hall of invitation learned priests......... and in the assembly-house he shall establish a gaming table, sprinkle it with water, and throw down on it dice made of *Vibhitaka* (nuts) sufficient in number, and let Āryāns play there (if they are) pure men of honest character. Assaults at arms, dances, singing, concerts, etc., should not take place except in houses kept by the king's servants......Let the king appoint Āryans, men of pure and honest character, to guard his people in villages and towns, having servants of similar character; and these men must guard a town (*nagara*) from thieves for a league (*yojana*), in every direction; villages for two miles (a *kos* or quarter of a league). They must pay back what is stolen within that distance and collect taxes

1. C. H. I., I pp. 244-5.

(for the king)".[1] Another duty of the king was "to take measures for ensuring victory when danger from foes threatened, to learn the management of chariots and the use of the bow so that he might stand firm in battle and not turn back."

No *rājā* was an absolute monarch and few could be tyrannical rulers for any length of time. *Rājās* could not propound laws on their own account; for *Dharma*, according to a legal fiction, was held to be contained explicitly or implicitly in the Vedas, and the *avararṣis* who composed the law-books claimed to derive the law from the self-revealed Veda and from the oral teachings and practices of the age of the *mantras*, as remembered by them (*smṛti*), and that law was binding on the king as on the people. The king as law-giver was a concept unknown in ancient India. Moreover the exercise of royal power was checked by the Purohita specially and Brāhmaṇas generally. Even the *saṅghas*, republican corporations had to be friendly to Brāhmaṇas. The ministers and the village-headmen (*Grāmikas*) had to be consulted by kings regularly; and the general body of the people (*janāḥ*) met in a *Samiti* (assembly), also called *Pariṣad* and could curb the activities of the king and if necessary, expel him, and anoint a good man in his stead. A Kingship was usually hereditary but subject to the ratification of the people; sometimes a king was chosen from outside the royal family. The *Rājasūya* consecrated a person as a *Rājā*, and the Vājapeya, as a *Samrāṭ*. The *Aśvamedha* and other ceremonies of consecration made him a Suzerain lord of feudatory kings. Kings were all well-educated, and many of them were only next and very often equal, to Brāhmaṇas in all forms of learning. Besides the states ruled over by kings, there

1. C. Ḥ. I., I, pp. 246-7.

were several republics or tribal oligarchies (*saṅghas*) ruled over by Kṣattriya *Śrenis* (boards). The head of these was called the *Nāyaka*, also *Rājā*.

The chief sources of royal revenue, were the produce of cultivation, amounting to one-tenth to one eighth of the produce; cattle and gold, one-fiftieth of the stock; merchandize, one-twentieth of the sale price of articles; and roots, fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs, honey, meat, grass, firewood, one-sixtieth. The king was entitled besides to one day's work in a month free, from every artizan, to purchase all articles of merchandize for less than the market value, to take all unclaimed property, three-fourths of all treasure-trove, fines on offenders, and one-tenth of all goods imported by sea. Besides revenue from taxes, the king derived income from crown-lands and carried on trade and industries on a large scale on his own account.

Sons inherited the property of father, generally during the latter's life-time when the *Gṛhasṭhaśrama* ended. In default of sons, *Sapiṇḍas* (cousins on the male side to the sixth degree), and in default of these, or teachers or pupils, daughters inherited the property. The eldest got a little more than the others. Probably customs with regard to inheritance varied to some extent from district to district.

The civil and criminal laws were still vague. Documents, witnesses and possession were proofs of title and when documents, conflicted with each other the statements of old men and gilds and corporations were admitted as proof. Ordeals were applied in criminal law. Assaults, adultery and theft were the principal crimes. Differential treatment was awarded to different castes, the Brāhmaṇa being leniently and the Śūdra severely treated. The rates of interest varied from two, three

four to five per cent according to caste and in some parts of the country went up to 15 per cent. The use of coins slowly increased. Āryan law-books were composed for use practically everywhere in India except the Tamil country. The non-Āryanized tribes everywhere followed their own customary law.

Magic and religion (the constraint of demons and prayers to Gods) were blended together even in the Vedic rites from early times; and the former was predominant in house-hold rites, as is proved by the Atharva Veda Samhitā. As time passed the Āryas did not relinquish superstitious practices. "The wife herself, who has so little to do with texts, must go outside her house and offer food to 'the white demon with black teeth, the lord of bad women', and if she bears a child the husband must daily, till the wife's confinement ends, offer rice and mustard in the fire near the door where the wife is confined, dispersing demons."[1] The use of amulets was another superstitious practice described in the *Sūtras*. There were many such among the Āryas, but the non-Āryanized tribes had many more, and, as it happens to-day, the Āryas invoked the help of the magician-priests of the unregenerate Dasyus when they were in trouble.

Gods, like Śiva and Viṣṇu, were invoked in the house-rites; Rudra was associated with the Rākṣasas and, when a text relating to him was recited by a man during a rite, it was ordained that he should 'touch water' for purification. But Viṣṇu was a benignant deity and led the bridegroom at each of the 'seven steps.' Besides such minor uses in these rites, these Gods also attained the rank of being the sole deities worshipped in new cults which were evolved in this age, independent of the fire-cult, from Dasyu modes of fireless worship, such as

1. C.H.I., I. p. 231.

the worship of Gods by means of images. Even in the *Sūtras*, though they are manuals of the Ārya fire-rite, there are allusions to the images of Gods, Īśāna (Śiva) in particular, which were taken about and given water to drink. Pāṇini, distinguishes between Śiva the God and Śivaka, his image. These facts prove that the fireless rites of these Gods were becoming popular in this epoch even among the Āryas.

The Āgamas or Tantras are books dealing with the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva and the Mother-Goddess (Śakti). We know the names of 108 *Vaiṣṇava* (or Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra or *Sāttvata*) *Āgamas*, and 28 *Śaiva* (or *Pāśupata* or *Māheśvara*) *Āgamas*, besides numerous other works on the subjects. A few of these have been published, there are quotations in published works from a few more, but of most of them we know only the names. The earliest of the existing texts of these Āgamas cannot be much older than the VI century A.D., when Āgama teachings found their way to the Tamil country; but the fundamental Āgama doctrines must have been evolved at least a thousand years before. The *Āgamas* are divided into four quarters (*pādas*), called *Kriyā*, which embraces all acts from ploughing the ground for laying the foundations of a temple upto the establishment of an idol in it, *Caryā*, the method of image-worship, *yoga*, meditation-exercises, and *Jñāna*, knowledge of the characteristics of the Lord and his *lokas*. These Āgamas have been kept secret, because cheapening the Āgama teachings by making them public will rob the priest of his emoluments and prestige. From the above description of the contents of the Āgamas it can be easily seen that they were evolved from ancient Dasyu practices and theories, which had at last been accepted by the Āryas, on the decay of the Vedic rites and which consequently attained expression in Sanskrit.

The fundamental characteristics of the Āgama rites differ very much from those of the Vedas. In the Āgama rites, the Gods worshipped are represented by idols, but in the Vedic rites, they are all of them represented by Agni, the fire-God. The offerings are shown to the idol in the former case and then taken away for consumption by the worshippers; but in the latter they are thrown on the fire. The *Āgamikas*, followers of the *Āgamas*, worship but one supreme divinity, Nārāyaṇa, or Maheśvara or Śakti, and believe all other Gods to be subordinate to the one worshipped. The *Vaidikas*, on the other hand, invoked several deities of equal standing to the fire-altar in the same fire-rite. Devotion to one God (*ekabhakti*) characterized the former; the latter have been correctly described as henotheists, people who worshipped many gods and at the same time regarded each of them in turn as the supreme God during the time they prayed to him. To the former the God of his devotion was a Supreme person (*Puruṣottama*), but the latter worked their way to the concept of an impersonal God, unlimited by personal characteristics (*Nirguṇa*). The *Vaidikas* divided men into four *varṇas* and regarded the Brāhmaṇa alone as qualified to become in due season a *Sanyāsi* and by pursuing mystic practices reach *mokṣa*. On the other hand the *Āgamikas* recognized in theory and to some extent in practice the equality of all men in the sight of God; even to-day a Caṇḍāla can give the *Śivadīkṣā*, to a Brāhmaṇa, i.e., can initiate him into the mysteries of the Śaiva rites; and members of the lowest castes may build their own temples to Śiva and worship Him there, and by devotion to him become *Śivayogīs* and attain *mokṣa*. But the Vedic rites can by no means be carried on without Brāhmaṇas acting as fire-priests. In later times when Brāhmaṇas became temple-priests, they excluded people of other castes from the Holy of

Holies, yet there are numerous legends that even Caṇḍālas made *pūja* with their own hands to idols in shrines which have now come into the exclusive possession of Brāhmaṇa priests. Another distinction between the *Āgamika* rites and the *Vaidika* ones is the compulsory use of Veda *mantras* in the latter and the use of sham non-Vedic *mantras* containing one or other of all the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet followed by *m*, linked to the innumerable names of the Deity worshipped and followed by the word *namaḥ* (I worship) in the former. From the Āgama rites has been gradually eschewed the slaughter of animals in the case of temples where Brāhmaṇas act as priests and they have become 'bloodless,' but the *Vaidika* ones have continued to be 'bloody' even today. Hence as the sentiment against the killing of animals grew in India, the death of Vedic rites was accelerated and the *Āgamika* worship of Viṣnu or Śiva or Ambā has become the main feature of modern religion in India.

The chief Āgama doctrine is the gradual manifestation of the supreme God in four forms, (*vyūhas*), Viṣṇu becoming successively Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣana, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha; similarly the supreme Śiva successively became the three *tattvas*, Sadāśiva, Iśvara, and Vidyā. Both Viṣṇu and Śiva have a Śakti as wife and active counterpart. Viṣṇu's Śakti, Lakṣmī has gradually lost ground in modern times; but her active partnership is still symbolized in Viṣṇu temples by the allotment of a separate shrine for her worship. Śiva's Śakti, on the other hand, called Ambā or Kāḷī or Śakti gained the upper hand among certain sections of the *Āgamikas*; Seventy-seven Āgamas and many other works are devoted to her and even to-day she owns many temples of her own. Among numerous castes which represent primitive tribes and which have not come under the influence of Brāhmaṇa teaching, she is the sole divinity and is worshipped in

primitive temples with the ancient pre-Ārya 'bloody' rites. But even here the influence of the Āgama teachings is felt in that all local goddesses have come to be regarded as aspects of Kāḷī. Another basic Āgama doctrine is that of the *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu, His frequent birth in earthly bodies; 39 of these are enumerated in the *Āgamas*, of which ten have become popular. Śiva has no *avatāra*, but frequently appears to his disciples in temporary human forms and Kāḷī, too, manifests herself in terrible shapes. Viṣṇu's residence is the city of Vaikuṇṭha in the Highest heaven and Kailāsa Hill in the Himālayas is the earthly dwelling of Śiva. The evolution and dissolution of the universe in great *Yugas*, measured in multiples of 4320 (12×360) years was also worked out in the Āgama schools. A theology and philosophy of a high order is expounded in the *Jñānapāda* of the *Āgamas*. This was mainly based on the metaphysics of the *sāṅkhyas*, with the addition of a Personal God, and hence different from that of the Upaniṣads. The latter recognizes but one noumenon, but the former, three, the Lord, the individual soul and matter. The teachings of the *Āgamas* were to some extent worked into the Purāṇas, when the final redaction of these took place. The *yogapāda* of the *Āgamas* contains teachings about the play of unseen currents of energy in the 'subtle body'; the *Yoga* practices connected with these dropped out of the Vaiṣṇava schools in the X Century A.D., but still form a vital part of the practices of esoteric Śaiva schools; so there exist to-day *Śivayogis*, but no *Viṣṇuyogis*. Of the Āgama doctrines that of the *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu is woven into the *Rāmāyaṇa*; several technical terms of the *Agamas* are found in the *Mahābhārata*; hence they must have been fully evolved before these epics reached the shape they have now.

The *Agamas* were conceived as the teachings of Viṣṇu or Śiva delivered to their spouses Lakṣmī or Pārvati respectively. Thus a high authority was secured by deriving them ultimately from the Highest Person (*puruṣottama*), yet they remained inferior to the Vedas. For the latter were regarded as *apauruṣeya*, impersonal, not uttered by any *puruṣa*, human or divine; they existed from all time, either as ideas or as words and when they disappeared in the *pralaya*, world-dissolution, they reappeared in the next *Kalpa*, creation in the mind of Brahmā, and the *Ṛṣi* seers (*mantradraṣṭāraḥ*) 'saw' the Vedic *mantras* from time to time and revealed them to the world. The Vedic *Ṛṣis* said they 'made' (and did not see) the *mantras*, but the theologians of a later time invented the new theory of the origin of the Vedas, probably as a counterblast to the new, heterodox Āgama theories. In the time of Patañjali (II cent. B.C.), it was a matter of debate whether the ideas or the words of the Veda were eternal, but as time passed and as the study of the meanings of the Vedic *mantras* became rare, the theory of the literal eternity prevailed, and the mere sound of the recited Veda acquired a special efficacy of its own in the minds of the Hindus.

The **Rāmāyaṇa** reached its present form about the end of this age. Rāma is mentioned in the Ṛgveda as a bountiful king, and a contemporary of his, called Vālmīki, is claimed by tradition, as the author of a poem on Rāma, which the Ṛṣi taught to Rāma's sons, Kuśa and Lava in his hermitage. This poem was probably a ballad in the *Chandas* or Vedic dialect eulogizing the deeds of Rāma. There was another Vālmīki, contemporary of Pāṇini. He must have rewritten the poem in the classical Sanskrit (*Bhāṣa*) which was evolved about this time. This poet worked into his poem, besides the ancient ballad, stories of old kings, and the *Āgamika* idea of Rāma being an

Avatāra of Viṣṇu, without tampering with the sequence of events as narrated by the original Vālmīki; for in the poem as we have it the divine and the human characters of Rāma are not inseperably blended together. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is the *ādi-kāvya*, the first epic poem of India.

That the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a blend of two different schemes of thought separated from each other by many centuries, is evident from the fact that the earlier layer belongs to the Vedic age when Indra was a very important deity and the principal recipient of sacrificial offerings and the later layer belongs to the age when *Āgamika* ideas began to prevail in North India, such as the supremacy of Viṣṇu and his incarnations on the earth necessary for its progress. But as traces of the earlier Sanskrit idiom are rare we have to conclude that the later Vālmīki borrowed the content of the earlier poem and recast it in the idiom of his day, weaving into it the religious concepts reached after the Āgama teachings were evolved. For this reason the *Rāmāyaṇa* serves as a scripture of the later Hinduism, whereas the Vedas proper are used to-day, and that sparsely in a very few Brāhmaṇic rites.

The Mahābhārata began as *the Bhārata* mentioned by early writers, a ballad of the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍvas, in 8800 *Ślokas*, composed by Vyāsa in the Brāhmaṇa dialect. As *Āgamika* ideas became popular, Kṛṣṇa, one of its heroes, became an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The language of the poem probably altered with time, but is yet in some respects more rugged and antique than the polished language of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Gradually as the idea grew that the Pāṇḍava epic should become 'a fifth Veda,' a 'Dharma Śāstra,' and the Itihāsa, it absorbed all sorts of materials, *Purāṇa* tales, mythology,

especially about Śiva and Viṣṇu, *Āgama* teachings, Vedānta doctrines, *Artha Śāstras*, *Dharma Śāstras*, teachings of the lay *Darśanas*, and geographical chapters dealing chiefly with holy watering-places (*tīrthas*), and became a huge book of a *lac* of verses. The social conditions referred to in the two *Itihāsas* must be a blend of those of early times with later ones; but yet there is little reference in either poem to men or events belonging to the next age and therefore they must have reached their present form before the end of this period. In the case of the *Mahābhārata*, there were slight tamperings even after this date, as is proved by the fact that the Northern version differs in some respects from the Southern one, but it is not right to postdate the bulk of the poem, and attribute its final compilation to a later date than the VII century B.C. on this account.

The Bhagavad Gītā, the most celebrated of the episodes of the great epic, represents a great early attempt by one of the world's highest thinkers to weld together the apparently contradictory monistic point of view of the *Vedānta*, the dualistic one of the *Sāṅkhya*, and the *Āgama* analysis of the cosmos inte three factors (*tattva-trayam*) or rather to transcend these three *Darśanas* and reach a higher standpoint than these. As its name indicates it seems to have originally been a text of the Bhāgavata school, and, as its closing verses indicate, was intended to teach the path of *Bhakti* (devotion) to the Supreme Lord, Kṛṣṇa Viṣṇu, as the means of *mokṣa* which the ordinary man may follow. This is further proved by the fact that numerous technical terms of the *Āgama* schools occur in the poem, terms which commentators belonging to the *Vedānta* School and not well versed in *Āgama* texts generally misinterpret. While primarily expounding the *Āgama* doctrines, the *Bhagavad Gītā* has incorporated with it the fundamental Vedānta and

Sāṅkhya tenets, in a manner more or less reconcilable with each other. Unlike the other Vedānta texts——the *Upaniṣads* and the *Vedānta Sūtras* (all three being called the *Prasthāna traya*), the *Bhagavad Gītā* is intended for ascetics and householders alike.

Asceticism grew to great proportions in this age. Upto this period *Sanyāsa* was open only to Brāhmaṇas according to the Ārya law-books. The Kṣatriyas began to feel that they were not inferior to the Brāhmaṇas in intellectual powers or personal purity, and were entitled to seek release from the bondage of desire and the consequent involvement in an endless series of births and deaths. This led to Kṣatriya revolts against the Brāhmaṇa monopoly of Sanyāsa and the consequent possibility of attaining *mokṣa*, and to the foundation of two Kṣatriya ascetic orders. Jaina and Bauddha traditions reckon twenty three Jinas and twenty-three Buddhas before Mahavīra Jina and Gautama Buddha respectively. All scholars agree that Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jina was a historical personage who lived in the VIII century B.C. and it is only the desire to enhance the greatness of Gautama that leads people to deny the historicity of Kanakamuni, his immediate predecessor. It is not at all necessary to believe that Buddha invented the order of monks called Bauddha. There is a tradition coming down from before Buddha's time that Dantapura was the capital of the Kaliṅgas, and that "the sacred tooth, afterwards taken from Dantapura to Ceylon was believed to have been already an object of reverence before the time of Buddha."[1] Weber has pointed that the Buddhist philosophy was anterior to the age of Gautama.[2] Devadatta, the cousin of Gautama, was in the latter's life time the leading representative of the older Bauddha

1. C. H.I., I. p. 173.
2. H. I. L., p. 27. 284, 285.

order as established by Kanakamuni and hence the loving disciples of Gautama invented tales vilifying Devadatta, whose sect was alive when Fahsien visited India early in the V Century A.D. Buddha spoke of himself as the *Tathāgata*, he who walks along (the path of previous Buddhas) and named his predecessors in Buddhaship like the *sambuddha* Kassapa. These early Bauddha and Jaina monks followed the customs of Brāhmaṇa Sanyāsīs. Like them they held their yearly four-monthly retreat in the rainy season (*vassa*); otherwise they kept wandering from village to village. They adopted the major and minor vows of Brāhmaṇa Sanyāsīs and in all other ways imitated them. The Jainas generally laid exaggerated emphasis on the austerities involved in these vows and the Bauddhas tended to relax their severity. But the members of all the ascetic orders followed esoteric *yoga* exercises, which were taught after undergoing a preliminary course of training in the development of character. Without the successful subjugation of the mind by the practice of *yoga*, the attainment of *mokṣa* (*Nirvāna*, *Kaivalya*) was held to be impossible. These Kṣatriya ascetic orders rose in the districts where in the previous period philosopher-kings like Mahājanaka or Aśvapati reigned. These kings were teachers of Brāhmaṇa seekers after truth and their descendants could not but feel that they were in no way inferior to Brāhmaṇas as candidates for *Sanyāsa*, or *mokṣa*. Pārśvanātha, the penultimate *Tirthaṅkara* was the head of the Jaina movement in the VIII century. He organized the wandering Jaina monks of his time into an order, and established definite rules of conduct for them to follow. The practisers of the *Vaiṣṇava*, *Śaiva* or *Śākta* Āgamic rites also became ascetics; the *Yogapāda* and the *Jñānapādas* of the *Āgamas* were open but to those who had renounced the pleasures of life.

As these Āgama rites were open to all *varṇas*, some of these ascetics were probably drawn from all ranks. *Pāśupata* ascetics (*Śivayogīs*), sought by austerities to reach a vision of Śiva in the way in which Kṛṣṇa sought the same, as described in the *Mahābhārata*. " Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with *ghī*, and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a vision of Mahādeva and his wife, Umā." Vaiṣṇava ascetics were called *Ekāntīs*, but they were never so many as the Śaiva ascetics. There were many other schools of asceticism, each with some peculiar doctrines and spiritual exercises of their own; an old Bauddha text mentions sixty-three of them. From the *Mahābhārata* and other books we get the impression that in this period the land was covered by ascetic teachers of all kinds preaching different doctrines. Everywhere swarmed mendicant Bhikṣus of many sorts, some clean-shaven, others weaving matted locks, some naked, others wearing clothes dyed in different colours, yet others wearing clothes dyed only in dirt, some fearfully untidy, others scrupulously clean, some carrying one rod, others a triple one, some fasting to the point of starvation, others fed fat like prize-bulls, Yogīs, Bhikṣus, Bhaktas, Gurus, Sādhus, such as turn out in large numbers even to-day on occasions of *melās* in sacred *tīrthas*. All grades of men from the subtlest thinkers down to charlatans and vendors of *liṅgas*, *Śāla grāmas*, as well as medicinal drugs and love-philtres, were amongst the ascetics. The royal courts were battle grounds of rival religious teachers. The market-places, fairs and festival-sites were full of them. The river-banks, cool corners in forests, and hill-caves safe from jungle-beasts, were haunted by them. Pāṇini has given many rules for the formation of words connected with

Bhikṣu etc., showing how numerous they were. The tide of asceticism has kept up to this high level even to-day and the influence of Sādhus over men and women has since this period became a permanent factor in Indian life.

Dakṣiṇāpatha, as South India was called, was no more a place of exile as in early Vedic times, though Āryāvarta was, from old custom, continued to be described as a holy region (*puṇyabhūmi*). The Āndhras were thoroughly Āryanized by this time, for from among them arose the *Avararṣi*, one of the latest of the law-givers, Āpastamba. Brāhmaṇas, like the Āgastyas of the Podiya hill in the Tinnevelly district, had settled themselves in the Tamil land, but the bulk of the Tamils sturdily resisted to follow the Āryan ways and stuck to their old unadulterated Dasyu culture. The people of the five regions lived their lives, more or less following the customs generated by the influence of their geographical environment. Poetry in the form of short odes arose among the Tamils, totally independent of the Sanskrit literature of the period. Wandering bards sang them in praise of the adventures of kings and chiefs in love and war. The poems of each region naturally described the aspects of nature and the customs peculiar to that region. Thus the poets of the hilly tracts sang of love at first sight and of the lifting of enemies' herds of cattle, while those of the lower river-valleys sang of the love passages of their heroes with ladies other than their legitimate wives and of their feats in the capture of the "forts" of enemy chiefs. The bards of the forest region dealt with the seperation of lovers for, and their reunion after, a very short time, and of the destruction of the forests of foes. In the littoral region, they described separation for, and reunion after, a little longer period, and of battle on an open field. And lastly the desert-region was the

scene of the tragedy of the very long separation of lovers, as when the lover goes away to a very distant region and of the horrors of war. In each kind of poem, the fauna, flora and physical features of the region peculiar to it, were alone described. These poems, unlike the early poems of the Āryas, deal only with human heroes and not with the Gods. But from incidental references in them we learn that the Tamils continued to worship, besides local spirits and demons, the regional gods. The Red God of the hills, the Black God of the pastoral lands, the Sky God, the Sea God and the Goddess of Victory. Their rites were fireless and 'bloody' and accompanied by devil-dancing, singing, debauch and revelry.

All these poems are now lost; but that they must have existed for a long period can be inferred from the fact that in the next age these regional poems became five separate literary species and their natural characteristics fixed as the artificial canons to be observed in these species in whatever regions they were actually composed. The names of the regions, Kuṛiñji, Marudam, Mullai, Neydal and Pālai, now became the names of the species of literature governed by these, now artificial, conventions.

The intercourse which existed between Āryāvarta and Dakṣiṇāpatha in earlier times now became more and more intimate. By the time of Baudhāyana Southern Dasyu customs were admitted into the life of the Southern Āryas. It has been argued that as Pāṇini does not mention any province to the south of the Narmadā except that of Aśmaka, the Āryas had not in his time penetrated into South India. This is an example of vicious reasoning, for Pāṇini wrote a grammar of Sanskrit words and could discuss only names which had been definitely Sanskritized. The Jātaka stories speak of travels of North Indian merchants by land and sea to

South India and Ceylon; this was but a continuation of the trade of this period and did not suddenly develop in the next.

Foreign trade was much developed in this period. In the X century B.C. Solomon got Indian sandalwood, precious stones, ivory, apes, and peacocks, all Indian products. They must have been taken from West Indian ports to Arabia and thence transported to Syria. Not only were the ebony, cassia and calmus mentioned in *Ezekiel* Indian products, but also the "bright iron", Indian steel. This latter was so much prized even centuries later that Alexander preferred to gold an equal weight of steel (white iron) from the Malloi and the Oxydrakoi. In the case of these and other articles, their names were also borrowed. Hebrew *thuki* (-im) is Tamil *tokai*, peacock, the bird with the magnificent *toka*, tail; Heb. *ahal*,, mistranslated in the English Bible as 'aloes' is Tam. *ahil*, Sans. *agaru*; Heb. *almug*, is sandalwood, probably from Sans. *Valgu*; Heb. *Kophu*, ape, is Sans. *Kapi*; Heb. *shen habbin*, ivory, is a translation of Sans. *ibhadanta*, elephant's tooth, *habbin* being but *ibha*; Heb. *sadin*, Arab, *satin*, cloth is derived from old Tamil *sindu*; Heb. *Karpas*, cotton from San. *Karpāsa*. Indian goods found their way to Assyria also; on the obelisk of Shalmeneser III (860 B.C.) are found figures of Indian apes and elephants, which went probably by land *via* Makrān. Tiglath Pileser III (747-727 B.C.) got from the Chaldean state of Yākin the following Indian goods, vessels and necklaces of gold, precious stones, pearls, timber, cloth and spices. He also made the Persian Gulf ports centres for the gold from the Himālayas. Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.) enlarged the city of Nineveh, built therein a palace and planted a great park where he 'introduced from India "trees bearing wool," (an expression used two hund-

red and fifty years later by Herodotos), i.e. cotton trees. There are representations of Indian humped cattle in Assyrian art; hence live animals ought to have been imported to Assyria from India in this age. Pepper and other spices were important articles of trade in old Phoenician ships; but cinnamon was taken in Indian ships direct to Somali coast and thence distributed to Egypt and Syria by Arabian traders, so that Latin writers of later times imagined it to be an African product. Indigo was another article exported to Egypt from early times. Trade with China, too, did not languish and cardamom and other Chinese articles went in Indian ships to Western Asia and East Africa.

CHAPTER X.

THE RISE OF MAGADHA (*c.* 600-325 B.C.)

The chronology of this period has been the subject of much speculation and unlike the case of the previous ones, there are ample materials in the Paurāṇika, Bauddha and Jaina chronicles on which to base a decision; but as the information derivable from these sources is mutually contradictory, it has been the practice among scholars to choose for Gautama Buddha's death a date which appealed to them, to treat the information that supports their date as reliable and to reject as untrue whatever cannot be reconciled with this date. It is perhaps a better procedure to accept the earliest traditional dates for the deaths of Gautama and Mahāvīra, 543 B.C. and 528 B.C. respectively as trustworthy,[1] (because the deaths of these saints being important events in the history of religious development in India, the dates were most likely to be impressed strongly on the minds of their followers,) and to use up as much of the information regarding the regnal years of kings as possible, explaining and reconciling discrepancies in the most natural manner possible: thus it is possible to reach probable dates for the events of the period.

The political conditions of North India in this epoch are referred to in the Purāṇas and more or less incidentally in the early scriptures of the Jainas and the

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1. The dates in this Chapter are based on this traditional reckoning. But Fleet and Geiger adduce strong arguments in favour of 483 B.C. for the Parinirvana of Buddha. See J.R.A.S., 1909 and M.,p. xxviii. Charpentier advocates the dates 477 and 467 B.C. for the deaths of Buddha and Mahāvīra respectively. See I.A., xliii. *Ed.*

Bauddhas. The accounts in these books to some extent contradict each other and scholars have regarded one or the other of them as more reliable than the rest, according as they have devoted special study to them. But by a comparative study of all these, a fairly accurate account of the state of North India can be constructed.

In the beginning of the VI century B.C. there were in North India four kingdoms of considerable extent and power, besides a few 'aristocratic republics' and a number of smaller kingdoms. The most important of the republics were those of the Vajjians of Vesālī and the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā, and among the minor ones, the Sākiyas of Kapilavastu owning allegiance to the king of Kosala, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, who were constantly at feud with the Sākiyas, the Bhaggas (Bhargas) whose state was a dependancy of the Vatsas (which represented the Kuru-Pañcāla state of Kauśāmbī), and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana. The minor Kingdoms were Gāndhāra ruled by Pukkusāti, Śūrasena, by Avantiputta and Aṅga, by Brahmadatta, among others. The major Kingdoms were Kosala, Avantī, Vatsa and Magadha.

In Kosala, Prasenajit (Pasenadi) succeeded his father Mahākosala. He ruled over Kāśī and Kosala and was the overlord of the Sākiya territory. He was a patron of Brāhmaṇas and gave them donations of estates with royal rights over them. He was also the friend of Gautama, being of the same age as Buddha, consulted him frequently when in difficulty and built hermitages for Bauddha monks. His son Viḍūḍabha was his *Senāpati*. Pasenadi's minister Dīrgha Cārāyaṇa composed works on the *Artha Śāstra* and the *Kāma Śāstra*. Pasenadi was on friendly terms with Bimbisāra and the Licchavis. Viḍūḍabha succeeded him. He is remembered for his fierce massacre of the Sākiyas.

The King of Avanti was Pradyota (Pajjota). He was a cruel man and feared by his neighbours. His capital, Ujjayinī, became a great centre of the Bauddha cult and many teachers of the new Dhamma were either born or resided there. Probably it was there that was evolved the literary language of Bauddha books-Pāli.

In the Vatsa kingdom, which represented the ancient Paurava power, Satānīka Parantapa was succeeded by Udayana. He was a great warrior, but he is better remembered as the husband of Prabhāvatī, sister of Darśaka and daughter of Bimbīsāra, and of Vāsavadattā, daughter of Pradyota, and the hero of a cycle of legends which inspired the composition of several dramas and romances down to the VII cent. A.D. The kingdom declined after Udayana's time.

The king of Magadha (c. 600 B.C.) was Bimbiśara (also called Śreṇika). Then Magadha comprised the modern district of Magadha and half of Gayā. "The boundaries were probably the Ganges to the north, the Son to the west, a dense forest reaching to the plateau of Choṭā Nāgpur to the south and Aṅga to the east."[1] He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances, marrying (1) Kosala Devī, daughter of Mahā Kosala, (2) Cellana, daughter of a Licchavi chief and (3) Khemā, daughter of the king of Madda (the Madras) in the Panjāb. He annexed Aṅga (Bhāgalpur and Monghyr) to his dominions and got a Kāśi village as dowry of his first wife. Bimbisāra then changed his capital to Rājagṛha, where he built a new palace for himself. There Gautama visited Bimbisāra after he became the Buddha and the king gifted him with the Bamboo Grove, where huts were built for Bauddha monks. Mahāvīra often

1. C. H. I., I., p-182.

spent the rainy season at Rājagṛha and met Bimbisāra and preached to him. Probably like Jaina Sanyāsīs Bimbisāra starved himself to death and the pious Bauddhas invented the story that Buddha's rival, Devadatta, instigated his son, Ajātaśatru, to starve his father to death. His dominions contained 80,000 villages, the rulers (*gāmikas*) of which used to meet in a great assembly. He died after reigning for 28 years.[1]

Ajātaśatru (Ajātasattu, Kūṇika), who as *yuvarāja* ruled at Campā over Aṅga in his father's life-time, was the next king of Magadha. He refused to give up to Prasenajit, the Kāśī village which was given to his stepmother and this led to hostilities between uncle and nephew. At first Prasenajit was defeated and he fled. In another battle Ajātaśatru was defeated and taken prisoner; the uncle released him, gave his daughter Vajrā in marriage to his nephew and gave back the Kāśī village which was the cause of dispute as her dowry. During Prasenajit's absence from his capital, his minister Dīrgha Cārāyaṇa placed Viḍūḍabha on the throne and Prasenajit fled to Ajātaśatru for help, but died on the way. Viḍūḍabha's cruelties led to the decline of his power and the Vajjian confederacy became the most important power in Kosala. Quarrels arose between the great confederacy of Vesālī and Ajātaśatru. Kāśī and Kosala chiefs helped the Vajjians. Ajātaśatru built a fortress on the northern bank of the Son near its confluence with the Gaṅgā and began war. The war lasted sixteen years. The Magadha chieftains sowed seeds of dissensions among the allies. They were defeated and

1. This is what the Vāyu and the Matsya Purāṇas say. But according to the Ceylonese Chronicles Bimbisāra ruled for fifty-two years, and Ajātaśatru for thirty-two years. See P. H. A. I. (Third Edition). p. 152. *Ed.*

Vaiśālī and Kāśī became part of Ajātaśatru's dominions. The power of the great republican tribes was destroyed. Avantī was the only great power which remained. Ajātaśatru was afraid that the king of Avantī would invade his country and began to strengthen the fortifications of his capital. But the expected war did not take place. His reign lasted from about 573 B.C. to 541 B.C. Māhāvīra met Ajataśatru frequently; Gautama met him *c.* 562 B. C. Immediately after Gautama's death, the first council of Bauddha monks was held, when the teachings heard form his lips (*Buddhavacanam*) and episodes of his life, which form the earliest portions of Bauddha literature, were put together.

In Avantī, meanwhile, Pradyota died *c.* 565 B.C. and his elder son, Gopāla, abdicated in favour his younger brother Pālaka and lived at Kauśāmbī with his sister Vāsavadattā, the heroine of one of the most famous of Bhāsa's dramas, *Svapnavāsavadattā*. Pālaka was a tyrant, even more cruel than his father. In *c.* 541 B.C., Sarvilaka raised a rebellion and placcd Āryaka (Ajaka), son of Gopāla, on the throne of Avantī. This is the subject of one of the most splendid of Sanskrit dramas, the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*. His successor was Avantivarddhana, at the end of whose reign (*c.* 490 B.C.) Avantī was absorbed in Magadha.

Meanwhile Udāyibhadda (Udāyi), son of Ājātaśatru, and Viceroy of Campā during his father's life-time became king of Magadha (*c.* 541 B.C). He built a new capital, Kusumapura, around the fort (Pāṭali) built by his father which came to be called Pāṭaliputra (*c.* 537 B.C.). This was because he expected hostilities from Avantī. Mahāvīra died during his reign (*c.* 528 B.C.). Udāyī

was followed by three weak successors, (*c.* 525—493 B.C.)[1].

Kurush (cyrus), the founder of the Persian empire (558-530 B.C.) conducted campaigns in the east of Persia, while Magadha was slowly increasing in power. He destroyed the famous city of Kāpiśa in the Kābul valley. Greak writers inform us that he tried to go beyond the Kābul, but had to flee back with only seven men. He is said to have died on account of a wound inflicted by the arrow of an Indian in a battle in which the Indians fought on the side of his enemies and supplied them with elephants.

His nephew Dārayavaush Vishtaspha (Darius Hystaspes) was the greatest emperor of the Achaemenian dynasty of Persia (522-486 B.C.). In his Behistun inscription (516 B.C.) the people of Gāndhāra (Gadāra) appear among his subject peoples. In later inscriptions of his (at Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustum) Hindus (Hidus), the people of the Sindhu valley, are included in the list of his subject peoples. Herodotus tells us that he sent back his admiral, Scylax of Caryanda, to explore the mouth of the Indus. Scylax is the first Greek writer who wrote about India. Dārayavaush must have annexed the Indus valley, about 500 B.C.

Herodotus says that this province paid him a tribute of three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust (nearly equal to over a million pounds sterling). In the inscriptions of Darius we meet with the name, Śaka (zaka), of a people who were settled in Śakastāna (Seistān) round

1. There is considerable difference of opinion among the modern scholars regarding the chronology of the pre-Maurya Kings. See E. H. I. (Fourth edition), P. 51; C.H.I., I, p. 697. The author has followed the Purāṇic or the Buddhist sources at random without assigning the reasons which influenced his choice. *Ed.*

the Hāmūn lake and afterwards played a great part in Indian history. When Khshayārshā (Xerxes), the next Persian King (486-464 B.C.) invaded Greece, there was included in his army an Indian contingent of cavalry and infantry. The Indian infantry, 'clad in garments made of cotton, carried bows and arrows of cane, the latter tipped with iron'; the cavalry, armed similarly 'brought riding horses and chariots, the latter being drawn by horses and wild asses (mules?).' The Indian provinces soon recovered independence. It is true that Indian troops formed a part of the army of Darius III when he fought with Alexander (330 B.C) at Arbela; but this need not be taken to mean that the Sindhu valley was still under Persian domination, for the Indians were most probably mercenary soldiers; if otherwise, Alexander would have marched into India, straight after the conquest of Persia, without an extensive military preparation for three years to the west of the Sindhu river. One result of the temporary Persian intrusion into India was the development of the *Kharoṣṭhi* script which prevailed in the North western provinces till about 530 A. D. The alphabet used in the rest of India was *Brāhmī.*

Śiśunāga was the king of Magadha at this time, having been elected to the throne after a series of weak rulers in *c.* 493 B. C. He was also called Nandivardhana[1] and had been the actual ruler of Magadha for 22 years before he ascended the throne, when the nominal king was Nāgadāsaka. The Purāṇas say that he destroyed the prestige of the Pradyotas. The ancient Paurava dynasty also came to an end, the last descendant of Arjuna, Kṣemaka, having ceased to reign now. Hence Śiśunāga became the emperor of all Northern India. He transferred the capital to Vaiśālī.

1. According to the *Mahābodhivamsa* this was the name of a grandson of Śiśunāga. See P. H. A. I., p. 149. *Ed.*

The name Śaiśunāga can apply only to the kings who reigned between him and Mahāpadma Nanda and not to Bimbisāra and his successors. The first Pradyota was comtemporary of Bimbisāra and the last, of Śiśunāga.

Kālāśoka, also called Kākavarna and Mahānandī succeeded Śiśunāga, his father, in *c.* 475 B. C. In his reign the second congress of Banddha monks was held in Vaiśālī. By that time the Bauddha literature had grown so as to include the four *Nikāyas* (*Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Samyutta* and *Aṅguttara*), the *Sutta Vibhaṅga* and the *Khandakas*. Kālāśoka retransferred the capital of Pāṭaliputra. After a reign of 28 years he was stabbed in the vicinity of his city. It is said that his ten sons reigned for 22 years; this means there was civil war duriug that period.

Mahāpadma Nanda Ugrasena, the son of Mahānandī by a barber-woman, usurped the throne at the end of this period of confusion and began to rule from Pāṭaliputra; with the help of his minister Kalpaka he exterminated all the Kṣatriya dynasties of North India. The last relic of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, Sumitra of Kosala, ceased to reign now. Kaliṅga also came under his sway, and he is said to have constructed a canal in that province. Very late South Indian inscriptions say that Kuntala (North Mysore) was a part of his dominions. Hence the statement of the *Purāṇas* is true that Mahāpadma Nanda became sole monarch (*ekarāṭ*) and brought all under his umbrella (*ekacchatraḥ*) and from his time kings were of Śūdra origin (*Śūdrayonayah*). Mahāpadma Nanda and his eight sons, called the nine 'Nandas'[1] ruled the country for 100 years. (*c.* 425 B. C.———325 B. C.) They were very tyrannical and avaricious and amassed much wealth and

1. K. P. Jayaswal interprets *nava-Nandāh* as meaning the 'new', not the 'nine' Nandas. See J. B. O. R. S., iv, pp. 91-95. *Ed.*

buried it in Pāṭaliputra. The Brāhmaṇa Cāṇakya (Kauṭilya) organized a rebellion against them, destroyed the Nanda dynasty and placed Candragupta, the son of Murā,[1] on the throne of Pāṭaliputra.

Alexander of Macedon, during the last years of the Nanda dynasty, having subjugated Bactria (Bālhikā), resolved to fulfil his long felt ambition to conquer India. Two years before the Bactrian campaign he established the town of Alexandria in the Hindu Kush, garrisoned it and thus secured a position which commanded the road over three passes. He also appointed a governor over the Kābul Valley and thus saw that his communications were safe. North-west India was then held by several independent tribes and a number of kings, who were constantly contending among themselves. The *Rājā* of Takkasilā (Taxila) ruled over the country between the Sindhu and the Vitastā (Jhelum, Hydaspes). On the other side of the Vitastā ruled a rival *Rājā* who belonged to the Puru family. Āmbhi, the son of the *Rājā* of Takkasilā, offered submission to Alexander and "unbarred the door to the invader." But before Alexander could lead his composite army consisting of Macedonians, Thracians, Persians, Pashtus, Central Asiatics, and Egyptians into India, he judged it necessary to reduce to submission the independent tribes of the Kūnar, Panjkorā and the Swāt, (Suvāstu) valleys, so that they might not rise after he entered India and bottle him up within the country. So he sent a part of his army straight to India and himself went with the other part up the hill country

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1. The surname Maurya is explained by a number of scholars as meaning 'son of Murā' who is described as a concubine of the last Nanda King. But the *Mahāvamsa* calls him a scion of the Moriya (Maurya) Clan. In the *Mahāparinibbana* Sutta the Moriyas are represented as a Kṣatriya Clan ruling over Pipphalivana. *Ed.*

and defeated and slaughtered the tribes of that region. Alexander performed extraordinary feats of valour in these wars which enhanced his prestige very much. He found there a fine breed of cattle which he sent to Macedonia. He also found a Yavana (Greek) tribe which had settled there in the distant past. Probably whey were the *yavanas* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. A few of these joined Alexander's army.

After constituting his conquests there into a separate district, he entered Takkasilā where Āmbhi paid him due allegiance (326 B. C.) In this city Alexander came in touch with Indian ascetic philosophers. Meanwhile the Paurava king beyond the Jhelum was waiting to oppose him. Alexander sent a portion of his army against the Paurava and with the other portion crossed the river at night 16 miles up stream; the Paurava king, attacked both on the front and on the rear, was defeated. Alexander reinstated his brave opponent on his throne and marched on. Meanwhile, insurrections kept breaking out in the recently conquered country behind him: and when his army reached the banks of the Beas (Vipāśa, Hyphasis) and heard that beyond lay the great empire of Magadha which maintainied a huge army, it mutinied and refused to march further. So Alexandar had to retreat (July 326 B. C.). The retreat was very skilfully planned and conducted. He voyaged down Jhelum in a fleet of 8 galleys and a number of small craft protected by an army of 120,000 men marching along the banks. During the voyage he had to fight gallantly with many foes. When Pātāla, at the mouth of the Sindhu, was reached, a part of his army was sent by land, through Kandahār and Seistān. A little afterwards, Alexander marched along with the rest of the army, through Makrān (Oct. 325 B. C.) The fleet was sent in charge of Nearchos to the Persian Gulf. His army underwent untold suffering

during the march. The greater part of it was destroyed and but a relic of it reached Persia (May 324). Alexander himself fell ill and died at Babylon in June 323 B. C. There are no relics in India of the extraordinary feats of arms performed by this great military hero.

South of the Vindhyas the tribe of Āndhras were organizing themselves into a powerful state during this period. The Tamil kings, viz., the Cōḷas, Cēras, and Pāṇḍiyas were ruling peacefully in their respective dominions. The Cōḷa capital was Uṟaiyūr, now a suburb of Trichinopoly, the Cēra capital was Karūr, and that of the Pāṇḍiyas was probably South Madurai beyond Cape Comorin. It is said that the sea swallowed this town and the capital was then transferred to Koṟkai. There was much literary activity among the Tamils in this age, but the poems of the period are lost.

Vijaya Simha, son of Simhabāhu, king of Siṁhapura in Lāṭa (Lāḍha, Rāḍha, now part of Bengal), a little before the death of Buddha, sailed to Laṅkā and established himself as king of the island. It was thence called Siṁhaḷa (Ceylon). Lacking wives, he and his followers obtained women from the neighbouring Pāṇḍiya country, himself marrying the daughter of the Pāṇḍiya monarch. Simhalese chronology begins with the landing of Vijaya (544 B. C.)

The Bauddha and the Jaina cults received a great impetus in this age, on account of the activities of Gautama Buddha and Mahāvīra Jina. The former was a prince of the Sākiya clan, a branch of the Ikkākus (Ikṣvākus) of Ayodhyā, which had settled in the province now called Nepāl, with Kapilavastu as capital. Abandoning his wife and child, when still comparatively young, he tried many severe ascetic practices till he at last found illumination (*bōdhi*), and saw that the conquest of desire

was the best preparation that would lead to *Mokṣa*. He then went about taking disciples and organizing them into colleges of monks. During his search for truth, he found that self-torture did not help him to gain wisdom and so he lightened the already lax rules of bodily discipline followed by the Bauddha monks. He died when he was eighty years of age. Gautama taught his *Bhikkus* the 'middle way' (*majjhima paṭipadā*) between severity and laxity of life. He taught them the 'four noble truths' (*cattāri ariya saccāni, catvāri ārya satyāni*), that existence (in bodies of flesh) is suffering, that its origin is desire (*taṇkā, tṛṣṇā*), that its end is the extinction of suffering, and that the path thereto is the 'eightfold path' (*aṣṭāṅgika mārga*), named 'right belief' (*samma diṭṭhika*) 'right resolve' (*samma saṅkappa*), 'right speech' (*samma vācā*), 'right conduct' (*samma kammanta*), right occupation' (*samma ājiva*), right effort (*samma vāyāma*). 'right mindfulness', (*samma sati*), and 'right concentration', (*samma samādhi*). This included *yoga* exercises for advanced disciples. He organized his monks into *Saṅghas* (colleges of monks) and provided huts for them to dwell in. This last is in itself an instance of the laxity of the Bauddha *vratas* (vows), for the older Sanyāsīs did not live together in bodies but were wanderers. Hence acknowledging Gautama as *guru*, following his precepts, and living together in monasteries—Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha—became the three 'refuges' (*saraṇams*) of Bauddha monks. These changes in the rules of the Bauddha monastic order roused the opposition of the followers of the older Buddhas, Kanakamuni in particular. Devadatta was the champion of conservatism and is hence much execrated in Bauddha legends. Another bold change Gautama made was to throw open the doors of monasticism to *varṇas* other than Kṣatriyas. The facility with which people could become monks and the easy rules for their life devised by Gau-

tama made the Bauddha order very popular. Thousands of people became Bauddha monks and they rapidly overspread the land. Gautama also, but after some hesitation, extended the benefits of his monasticism to women and founded an order of nuns (*Bhikkuṇīs*). This soon proved to be a wrong step. The word *Bhikkuṇī* gathered unsavoury associations rourd it and this, to some extent, contributed to the downfall of the Bauddha form of monasticism in India.

When Gautama died, a Brāhmaṇa called Droṇa pleaded that his ashes might be distributed among eight kings who applied for a portion of them. It was so done and the eight portions were buried in eight *Śmaśānas,* with domical tops, called *stūpas* (topes) by the Bauddhas. The first *stūpas* were mounds of earth ; after a time they were built of brick ; a few centuries afterwards they were faced with stone and then stone *stūpas* began to be built. The early *stūpas* had some real or imaginary relic of Buddha buried in them ; but soon the building of a *stūpa* with or without a relic was considered an act of merit (*puṇya*) and the land was covered with imitation-*stūpas,* cut on rock.

At Lauḍiyā-Navandgaḍh (Nandangaḍh) in the Camparan Distiict of Behār were found recently, "at a depth from 6 to 12 feet, a small deposit of human bones, mixed up with charcoal, and a small gold leaf, with the figure of a standing female, stamped upon it. [The bones] exhibited every sign of having been burnt, before being deposited...Through the centre of the [mounds had been driven] an enormous wooden post....[part of which] had been eaten by white ants." A consideration of these facts leads to the conclusion that "the earthen mounds at Lauḍiyā had some connection with the funeral rites of the people who erected them." The Vedic books

on funeral rites say that "after the bones of a cremated person had been collected and deposited in an urn a *śmaśāna* or funeral monument[1]" was built, at first mounds of clay circular in shape, and later platforms of squarebrick. The construction of the clay *Śmaśāna* is referred to in the Ṛg Veda (X. 18. 13), when the performer of the funeral rites says, " I raise the earth around thee ; that I lay down this lump of earth, should not do me any harm. May the manes hold this pillar for thee and may Yama prepare a seat for thee in the other world." The female figure, it has been suggested, represents Pṛthvī, earth, to which the relics of the dead man's body have been consigned.[2] The *śmaśāna* was the model of the *stūpa*, the *Dhātugarbha*, 'the abode of relics' and the erection of *stūpa* was no new invention of Buddhism. The only novelty introduced by the Bauddhas was the erection of *stūpas* without relics and the carving of *stūpa*-shapes on rocks, holiness having been transferred from the relic-contents of the *Dāgoba* to its mere shape. Tree worship and serpent worship blended as freely with the Buddha cult as with the Śaiva cult. The serpent-hoods which spread over the statue of the Buddha as well as the sanctity of the Bodhi tree, under which legend makes him attain Buddha-hood, prove this. The worship of the Bodhi-tree (the sacred *pīpal*) by the Buddhists shows that they built upon the foundation of pre-existing cults, like all other religious teachers.

The building of *caityas*, and the worship of sacred trees, and of serpents that characterized the Jainas and the Buddhas, shows that these cults were only superimposed on the pre-existing religious practices of the land,

1. This word in modern vernacular has come to mean the field where corpses are burnt; originally it was the mound or platform where the bones were buried after cremation.

2. A. S. I. R. 1906-7, pp. 123-4.

without any catastrophic change. They existed before the rise of the Vedic cult and were absorbed by it; when the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Āgam·cults, non-Vedic in their inception, became popular, these ancient institutions were amalgamated with them and are therefore a vital part of the Hinduism of today. Figures of these abound the sculptures recovered from Mathurā, as also of *Triśūlas, Svastikas* and double fish—all considered as good omens. The *Dharmacakra* worshipped by the Jainas and Bauddhas alike, was that of the Brāhmaṇas taken over by them. Long before these sects 'the wheel of the law was set in motion' (*dharmacakram pravartitam*)[1] and it is not right to read a Buddhist emblem wherever the *cakra* appears, as writers are too prone to do. " Even at present various pieces of collateral evidence are available which support the view that all the several Indian sectarians took their sacred symbols and the ornaments of their temples from one common storehouse. Chief among these is the now generally acknowledged fact that the Brahmanists, the Jainas and the Buddhist, all and at the same time, contributed to the development of tne cave-temple architecture, which formerly was considered to be a speciality of the Buddhists. It is now conceded that the oldest known caves of Barābar and Nagārjunī belonged to the Vaiṣṇava Ājīvakas, and those near Kaṭak to the Jaina worshippers of the Arhats. The undoubtedly Buddhist Leṇas date from some what later times. It is therefore not in the least doubtful that all the old Indian sects used rock-excavations for sheltering their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and sometimes also their idols, and it is highly probable that this uṣage goes back to times antecedent to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism."[2]

1. M. Bh., xii., 356. 2.
2. E. I., ii, pp. 322-3 (Buhler).

Mahāvīra, whose name as a householder was Vardhamāna Jnātaputra, was a Kṣatriya nobleman of the clan of Jnātrikas. He was born at Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of Vaiśālī. He renounced the world in his thirtieth year and after 12 years of the hardest asceticism, reached illumination (*kevala jñāna*) and understood that the destruction of *karma* would lead to *Mokṣa*. When he was still practising austerities, he met Gosāla, of the Ājīvaka order (one of the pre-Mahāvīra Jaina orders); for six years they lived together, but Gosāla broke from him, probably because Mahāvīra's austerities were too severe for him. Mahāvīra after reaching illumination went about taking disciples and organizing his monastic order. He improved on Pārśvanātha's rules by insisting on complete nudity and the strictest possible chastity. The Jaina monks led a very hard life. They exaggerated the implications of the law of *Ahimsā* (not hurting living beings), so that they did not shave lest they should thereby hurt lice, but had the hair on their heads and faces plucked out. They let insects crawl over their bodies. They walked about so carefully as not to tread on ants or vermin. They vowed not to take anything given to them. They shut their eyes to pleasant objects and their ears to pleasant sounds. They avoided sweet food and smell. They burnt no lamps so that they might avoid risking the life of moths. They followed severe practices of *yoga*. And when they thought they were ready for *Mokṣa* and that their bodies were no more of any use to them, they performed *Sallekhana*, i.e., retired to a corner not easily accessible, lay down on the ground, gave up food and drink and remained so till they died. The 'three jewels' (*triratna*) of the Jainas were Right knowledge (*Samyak Jñanā*) Right Faith (*Samyak Darśana*), and Right conduct (*Samyak cāritrya*). Buddha founded only monastic orders. But lay men ('house holders', *gṛahasthas*) often

earned *puṇya* ('merit, spiritual benefit') by inviting them to their houses for meals and after dinner listened to the spiritual advice which they gave. Such *atithipujā* ('worship of guests'), especially when offered to Sanyāsīs, was (and is) regarded as a mode of worship (*upāsanā*) throughout India. Such 'worshippers' were called *upāsakas*) in Bauddha literature. This word does not mean a lay disciple, one who has been converted from their religion whatever it was into a new religion or that they became permanent disciples of the Sanyāsīs. To-day Hindus hear the sermons of Christian teachers or Musalman *moulvis*, and even make vows to and fulfill them at the shrines of St. Mary or Muhammadan *pirs*, but are not less Hindus on that account, The Jainas called such 'worshippers' *Śrāvakas* or *Śravikas* ('hearers'). In later times these *Śravakas* and *Śravikās* were admitted as permanent members of the Jaina organization (*caturvidha sangha*) and this has tended to preserve the Jaina cult in India. But neither Gautama nor his monkish followers ever took the *upāsakas* into their organization and this is one reason why the Buddha cult has disappeared from the land of its birth. An esoterie cult which has no special dogmas to offer to laymen cannot be properly called a church or a religion and, as long as it lived in India was but a special school of monasticism open to all who desired to renounce the world.

The Bauddha and Jaina movements have been described by most western scholars as new religions, to be termed Buddhism and Jainism, or at least cases of protestant reformations of Hinduism. This is not true. The religious life of the ordinary people, i.e., those that did not want to become ascetics, was not affected by these movements. They continued to worship the gods of their choice as before in the same old ways. If the modern name 'Hindu' can be applied to them, all the people were

Hindus and their Hinduism was not at all disturbed by Mahāvīra or Buddha. As Weber pointed out three-quarters of a century ago, Buddha's "teaching contains in itself nothing new; on the contrary, it is entirely identical with the corresponding Brahmanical doctrine; only the fashion in which Buddha proclaimed and disseminated it was something altogether novel and unwonted. For while the Brāhmaṇas taught solely in the hermitages and received pupils of their own caste only [for asceticism], he wandered about the country with his disciples, preaching his doctrines to the whole people and although still recognizing the existing caste system, and explaining its origin, as the Brāhmaṇas themselves did, by the dogma of rewards and punishments for prior actions—receiving as adherents men of every caste without distinction. To them he assigned rank in the community [of monks] according to their age and understanding, thus abolishing within the community [i.e. order of monks] itself the social distinction that birth entailed, and opening up to all men the prospect of an emancipation from the trammels of their birth."[1] Sanyāsa *ipso facto* according to Hindu ideas dissolved caste rules and caste restrictions, but temporary or even permanent lay discipleship of any *guru* was not a solvent of caste rules. The specific disciples of Buddha were but monks, and monks were *atyāśramī*, above caste. Just as Buddha recognised the existence of caste so too, he as a matter of course recognized the existing Hindu pantheon. The rule of the universe by the Vedic Gods still continued; monks and lay people continued to worship Indra, Brahma and Kubera; the lay Jainas resorted to Brāhmaṇas, as they do now, for household rites. It is not true that Gautama or Mahavīra denounced the Vedic rites as such, though they condemned the loss of life

1. H.I.L. Popular edition. p. 289.

they involved, and denied that the Vedic rites could lead to *Mokṣa*; but the Brāhmaṇas themselves did not claim that sacrifices led to liberation; they performed them for obtaining their desires during life and after death, and believed that Mokṣa could be reached only by the Sanyāsī afeer a rigorous life and a rigorous course of *yoga*-training. It is wrong to say that Mahāvīra or Buddha abolished caste or denounced the Vedic Gods or taught new doctrines; nor is it right to say that Buddha abolished meat-eating; it was the Jainas that taught extreme forms of the *ahimsā* doctrine and totally forbade meat-eating.

The worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu produced its own crop of monks. These ascetics were not organized into definite orders residing in monasteries; they were but wandering *Sādhus* (and probably a few *Sādhvis*) drawn from various castes. These cults did not begin as forms of Sanyāsa, but as forms of worship among the common people, and, as the Vedic rites declined, took their place; when Śiva and Viṣṇu worship began to be described in Sanskrit works (the *Āgamas*) and Brāhmaṇas became its priests, it was made to stimulate the Vaidika rites. These latter were conducted in sacrificial halls (*yajñaśāla*), which were oblong in shape, the length of the sides being in the proportion of three to four, and made of timber, roofed with bamboo and thatch. Temples for the *Āgama* rites were built similarly, but a square was cut off by a wall from the oblong and made into a cellar for housing the idol worshipped (*gar. bhagṛha*), and the rest was a portico (*maṇḍapa*) in front; the roof of the former was hemispherical like that of the dwellings of the poople, and topped by a pot (*kalaśa*), evolved out of the pot which held together the palmyra or bamboo rafters of huts. The cella was sometimes apsidal. When the Brāhmaṇas became temple-priests, echoes of the old fire-rite were added to the temple-ritual. The idol-chamber came to be called *yajña-bhūmi*, sacrificial

ground, and idol-worship, *yajña*, sacrifice. Imitation fire rites were adopted on occasions of the consecration of idols. A few *mantras* from the Vedas, though having absolutely no bearing on the rites of idol-worship, such as the *Puruṣa sūkta* recited while bathing the idol, were in defiance of their meaning, recited in the rites. The ever-burning lamps of temples were treated as the representatives of the Vedic sacrifice. Though the Vedic Viṣṇu and Rudra were totally different from the Āgamic Nārāyaṇa and Mahādeva, this sham assimilation of the fireless temple-rite to the Vedic fire-rite was made. Sectarian *upaniṣads*, extolling Nārayaṇa or Mahādeva, were composed and the name *upaniṣad* endowed them with the authority of the Veda; though they had no place in the fixed Vedic canon and could not be stuck on to a *Samhitā* or a *Brāhmaṇa* or an *Āraṇyaka*, they were called AtharvaVeda *upaniṣads*. Notwithstanding all this it must be remembered that the Āgama rites were (and are) essentially fireless and evolved from the Dasyu rites of long long ago, only with the flesh offering omitted on account of the spread of the Jaina teaching of *Ahimsā*. Hence numerous old Dasyu cults got amalgamated with them. The snake-totems of the Nāgas, once so widely spread throughout India, the tree and pillar cults of pre-Āryan times, the ritual dancing and singing coming down from remote epochs were assimilated with the Viṣṇu and Śiva cults. Thence Śiva got his several serpent-adornments and Viṣṇu his serpent couch and other gods and goddesses, even Bauddha and Jaina saints, their serpent-umbrellas. Śiva temples grew round the sacred trees which were once worshipped as totems and the *tulasi* (holy basil) became sacred to Viṣṇu. The pillars topped by figures of animals, such as are represented in the remains or Moheñjō Dārō, became *dhvajastambhas* (flag-staffs) of temples. That of Viṣṇu bore

on its top the Garuḍa (eagle), once the totem of the Garuḍa tribe. The Nandī, bull was placed in front of that of Śiva, facing the *liṅga*. The worship of the idol consisted in sweeping and washing the temples, ringing bells, burning incense, lighting and waving of lamps, bathing the idol and presenting all kinds of offerings, exactly in imitation of the daily life of mortal kings and their court-ceremonial. Early Bauddha legends refer to such practices in the 'Devālayas,' as the Bauddhas called the temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva. These temples were built of brick and timber and profusely ornamented with figures in wood and stucco such as the Indian genius revelled in. These temples have all perished.

Greek writers came into contact with India in this period. The Greeks were as much sensation-mongers as they were rationalists. They pandered to the love of their countrymen for fanciful legends by supplying all sorts of absurd stories about India. Scylax, the admiral of Darius, was the first of these writers. According to him Indian kings were of a superior race to their subjects. This is, perhaps, an adumbration of the modern theory of a superior Āryan race subjugating the inferior inhabitants of old India; but what Scylax really meant was that Kṣatriyas formed a superior caste to the bulk of the people. Besides this, Scylax delighted his countrymen with the stories of Indians who used their feet as sunshades, wrapped themselves up in their own ears, etc. Aeschylus first mentioned Indians (*Indoi*, from Persian Hindu, Sans. *Sindhu*) and he said that their women went 'roving on camels, mounted horse-fashion, riding on padded saddles.' Herodotus, father of profane history, (middle of the V Century B. C.) did not hesitate to include in his book the tale of Indian ants which threw up mounds of gold dust and which, as big as dogs, attacked those who tried to carry off the gold. This tale was repeated by several later

writers, including Megasthenes, the Seleucid ambassador at Candragupta's court. But when from personal knowledge he tells us that the Indian soldiers of Xerxes wore garments made from trees (cotton cloth) and carried bows of reed (bamboos) and arrows of reed with iron heads, he is perfectly right. He adds that some fought on foot and some in chariots drawn by horses and wild asses (mules). He is propably referring to the Jaina Sanyāsīs when he speaks of some Indians who would not eat meat or raise crops or live in house; 'but when they are ill, they go to the desert and lie down there till they die.' This refers to the practice of *sallekhana*. Ctesias, physician at the Persian court, says that in India there are lions with human faces, which shoot stings from their tails. But he tells us also that Indians were 'very just', probably meaning that the different castes followed each its *dharma*. Nearchus says that he has seen the skins of Indian gold-digging ants. But his testimony in other matters is quite credible. His description of bowmen is good. "The foot-soldiers carried a bow as long as their body. To shoot, they rested one end of it on the ground and set their left foot against it. They had to draw the string far back, since the arrows in use were six feet long. [This was why in the battle between Puru and Alexander, a heavy rain having turned the battle-field slippery, the bowmen could not rest their bows on the ground and were thus rendered impotent.] In their left-hands they carried long narrow shields or raw-hide, nearly coextensive with their body. Some had javelins instead of bows. All carried two-handed swords with a broad blade. The horse-men had two javelins and a shield smaller than the foot-soldier's."[1]. Nearchus says that laws were preserved by oral tradition, referring thus to the origin of *Smṛtis*. He also noted that women ascetics (probably Bauddha) were allowed to associate with men

1. C. H. I., I, p-412.

ascetics. He noticed that whereas Persian courtiers prostrated themselves before the king in India they merely raised their hands. Lands were cultivated by a number of relatives associated together. Each person took as much produce as was necessary to him for a year and they destroyed the remainder so as not to encourage idleness. This is his way of describing the Indian joint-family system. Nearchus formed a high opinion of the skill of Indian craftsmen. They saw the Macedonians using sponges and straightway made imitations of them in fine thread and wool and dyed them so as to be like real sponges. They used cast bronze, i.e., superior bell-metal, (*kamsa*) which breaks if it falls, and not hammered brass (*pittalā*). One more interesting fact noted by Nearchus is that among certain tribes a girl was put up as the prize of victory in a boxing-match. Aristobulus and Onesicritus, companions of Alexander mention suttee (*Satī*) as taking place especially among the Kṣatriyas. The latter noted that slavery was unknown, which statement was also made by other writers; this was because Greek slavery was something much worse than that which prevailed in India. Aristobulus was astonished at the fertility of India which allowed of two annual harvests. Clitarchus, a contemporary of Alexander, describes "the pageantry of a court-festival—the elephants bedizened with gold and silver, chariots drawn by horses, and ox-waggons, the army in full array, the display of precious vessels of gold and silver, many of them studded with gems."[1], probably on the occasion of the *abhiṣeka*, 'royal anointment.'

The secular life of the people in this age, as incidentally referred to in the early Bauddha literature, was very much like that of the previous age as described in the early *Sūtras*; only the latter were written from the point of view of the Brāhmaṇas, and the former from that

1. C. H. I., I, p. 417.

of the common people. The large majority of people lived in villages; the landowners held small patches of land, the fields (*khetta*) divided from each other by dykes or fences. Estates of about 1000 *karīsas*, were the largest of the holdings. Though theoretically agriculture and trade were Vaiśya occupations, Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas were also cultivators of the soil. Labourers for hire (and rarely slaves) were employed and the former were paid either in board and lodging or in money wages. The villages were grouped (not a collection of scattered huts), on the margin of the rice-field. Outside the cultivated lands, were pastures, where the village neatherd (*gopālaka*) grazed cattle; after the grazing was over he penned the herds in sheds. Beyond was the jungle, through which passed the caravan routes. The head of the villagers was the *bhojaka*, who was paid by certain minor dues and fines. All village affairs were discussed and settled in meetings of the villagers held in groves, or under a sacred tree (called *podiyil* in the Tamil districts); the village assembly constructed tanks, maintained parks and repaired roads. Cities were large in size, being but extensive groups of streets or hamlets, each allotted to one trade or occupation, separated by fields; workshops and bazaars had their own streets. Food-stuffs were sold at the gates of cities; other articles in the bazaars. In the *rājadhāni* was the palace where the king resided. Other cities (*nagara*) were also provided with fortifications. Smaller than these were *nigamas*, (small towns) which were bigger than *gāmas* or villages which contained up to 1000 joint-families. The following were the *Mahānagaras* in Buddha's time,—Sāvatthī, Campā, Rājagaha, Sāketa, Kosambī, Benares. Kusināra, where he died was a *nagaraka* or townlet. Villages were either of the country (*jānapada*) or of the border (*paccanta*) or (*paura*) suburban. Numerous arts and crafts flourished both in the

villages and in the cities. Metal-workers, wood-workers stone-workers, leather-workers, painters, garland-makers, sweet-meat makers, weavers, cloth-dyers, ivory-workers, doctors, ship-builders, house-builders, engineers who made roads, canals and tanks, seamen, makers of unguents and incense, barbers, dhobis and garland-makers represent some of the arts and crafts of the day. As a rule the followers of each profession lived in a street or a suburb or a village by themselves, a custom which was a potent cause of the multiplication of sub-castes and the rigour the caste system acquired. Learners of crafts (*antevāsika*) lived with their teachers. Trades connected with the slaying of animals, e.g., those followed by hunters, trappers, fishermen, butchers, tanners, snake-charmers, were considered low, and their followers lived away from the bulk of the people and gradually gravitated to the class of *caṇḍālas*. Workers at eighteen of these crafts organized themselves into gilds (*śreṇi, seṇi*). At the head of the gilds were a president (*pamukha*) and an alderman (*jeṭṭhaka*).

Social distinctions based on the *varṇa* to which a man belonged were observed. Buddha speaks of the true Brāhmaṇa with respect. Forty-one *ślokas* of the *Dhammapada*, believed to be genuine *Buddhavacanas*, describe what he conceived as the 'true Brāhmaṇa.' Kṣatriyas, though they were mostly cultivators, did not lose their social prestige. Social intolerance for the *caṇḍālas* was felt by the higher castes. Generally sons followed the profession of fathers; this and endogamy gradually made the caste-system highly complex, and in the highest castes purity of descent was much prized.

The King was entitled to 1/6 to 1/12 of the produce levied in kind measured out by the village assembly or the headman or by a royal official (*mahāmatta*) generally

at the barn-doors; it was then sent to special granaries kept for use in war-time or times of famine. Endowments were made by assigning the contributions of one or more villages. Land might be gifted or sold by its owner. Forests and ownerless lands reverted to the crown. The king was besides entitled to impose forced labour (*rājakārya*). In the republican tribal states the administration was carried on by an assembly which met in the *santhāgāra*, a roof supported by pillars without walls, and attended by young and old. Decisions were reached not by a majority of votes but unanimously. The president was called *rājā*.

Houses were still built of timber by wood-workers. The first stone structure of India seems to have been the royal palace of Rājagaha of which there have survived 'the walls and remains of dwellings all built of rough cyclopean maśonry.' Cut timber was used in the houses of the wealthy and profusely decorated with extensive carving. Recently two *śmśānas* (burial mounds) of the type prescribed in the Vedic ritual have been found at Lauḍiya Nandaṅgaḍh in Bihār. "Two of these proved to be composed of horizontal layers of clay alternating with straw and leaves, with a post (*sthūṇa*) of sāl-wood standing erect in the centre, above which was a deposit of human bones and charcoal accompanied by a small gold leaf."[1] In imitation of these *śmaśānas*, the Bauddhas built *stūpas*, hemispherical mounds. At first the ashes or other relics of Buddha were deposited inside the *stūpas*, and they were hence called *dhātugarbhas* (*dagobas*). They were built of earth and sometimes faced with brick. Soon the building of *stūpas* without relics became an act of merit and the land was covered with them.

Literature, general and technical, flourished. Bhāsa, the first great dramatist, probably lived in this age and

1. C. H. I., I., p. 616.

composed dramas on the Udayana Cycle of legends and other stories. Numerous other poems were composed, for quotations from them and references to them are found in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (II cent. B. C.). Kātyāyana (Vararuci) a southerner and said to have been a minister of the Nandas, wrote what are called *varttikās*, which are supplements to Pāṇini's grammatical *sūtras*; he was also the author of a *Kāvya*. A Prakrit grammar and other works are attributed to him, perhaps wrongly. Vyāḍi, great grandson of Pāṇini, also wrote a *Saṅgraha*. Other grammarians of this age mentioned by Patañjali were Vājapyāyana, Pauṣkarasādi, Gonikāputra and Gonardiya. *Dharma Śāstras* now took the form of versified *smṛti*. The *Dharma sūtras* of Manu, probably very old and not now extant, but for sundry quotations in commentaries, was probably the first to be thus versified. As Manu was believed to be the ancestor of the royal dynasties and the first law-giver of the Āryas, a special authority is ascribed to his teachings, and the *Manu Smṛti* attained a position of influence. Some of its verses were incorporated in the *Mahābhārata*, when we cannot say. The *Manu Smṛti* "produces on the whole the impression of a didactic poem, in which imagery, similes and elevated diction abound. The author evidently aimed at producing a literary work rather than a dry manual of jurisprudence."[1] A Bhārgava is said in the poem to have produced this work from pre-existing material. Treatises on *Śilpa* (art work or various kinds) *Vāstu śāstra* (architecture), archery, *Ratha Śāstra*, (the art of building chariots), the art of war, of mixing colours, glass-making, metal work, setting of gems, preparation of essences, perfumery (*candana, gandhika*), cookery, dice-play, etc. were composed. Several of these are referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but the secretiveness of artizans

1. I. P., p. 164.

has been the cause why most of these works have perished. Several works on religio-philosophical topics must have been composed, but the authors never cared to associate their names with their works, and these books were not published but were kept as the scripture of particular schools and retouched as time went on or absorbed in later books. Numerous authors of the early ages are quoted or their opinions are referred to in commentaries of later ages, but the books are liable to be assigned to later times on account of a solitary allusion to later events; the proper way of dating them is not by means of casual phrases or language-tests, but by finding out when the doctrines of a school first prevailed and in what other books whose age is known, the technical words of a school appear. The *Āgama* literature must have grown in this age and *Āgama* doctrines including the theory of inordinately long epochs of past human history (such as is referred to by Megasthenes) and epochs of *Kalpa* (evolution) and *Pralaya* (involutions) and accounts of numerous super physical worlds (*lōkas* and *talas*,) found their way into the Purāṇas. Bauddha texts grew in Pāli and Sanskrit. Three kinds of them developed, the Sūtta (*Sūtras*), i.e., Buddha's teachings, *Vinaya*, rules of the order, and Abhidhamma (*Abhidharma*), philosophy. The last, like the *Jñānapāda* of the *Āgamas*, was based on *Sāṅkhya* teachings, but elaborated into wearisome detail. The Jainas wrote in Arddha Māgadhī, and their books were of two classes, *Aṅgas* and *Kalpa Sūtras*.

Education, in the *gurukulas*, the houses of Brāhmaṇa teachers, continued as in the previous age. Because the pupils resided with their teachers, they were called *antevāsis*, boarders. This name for a pupil was extended by master-artizans to their apprentices. The Bauddha monasteries became great centres of teaching, where besides the Bauddha scriptures, secular subjects like

grammar and logic were taught. The accounts of Buddhas own education given in his biographies refer to the various subjects taught in those days. In them occur the names Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī, which have been assigned by modern scholars to the two scripts used in Aśokan inscriptions. A Bauddha tract on *Sīla* of *c.* 450 B.C. refers to a children's game, *Akkarika*, guessing letters, which proves that literacy was wide-spread. *Lekha* (writing), *Ganana* (arithmetic) and *Rūpa* (painting) were taught in elementary schools; the *phalaka*, writing-board, the *Varṇaka*, pen, and the custom of writing on sand spread on the floor, are also referred to. Indian knowledge was so respected in Greece that the seven sages of Greece, some of whom were Asiatic Greeks, according to Greek tradition, travelled to the Eastern countries to learn philosophy, at a time when India was the only country where phoilosophy was taught. Thales taught the theory which was expounded many centuries before him in the Brāhmaṇas, viz. 'all this (world) was at first water.' Herakleitos taught the *yoga* theory that 'everything in the world is in a state of constant flux'. The Eleatics taught the *Vedānta* doctrine that Brahma and the world are one. Empedocles taught the *Sāṅkhya Satkāryavāda* that nothing can arise which has not existed before. Demokritos taught the *Vaiśeṣika* theory of the atoms. Pythagoras taught Pythagorean theorem, the first subject expounded in the *Śulva Sūtras*. The medical theories of the Greeks are so like those of ancient Indian ones that they must have been borrowed from India. The five elements and the three '*doṣas*' (mis-translated 'humours') were in India conceived as forms of elementary, 'subtle' matter, but were converted by the splendidly materialistic bent of Hellenic genius into the earth, water, fire and wind, omitting the sky which was too famous to suit the Greeks, and the bile, wind,

and phlegm that can be sensed by the bodily organs of sensation. The 'Arenarius' of Archimedes is based on the problem of the number of atoms in the length of a *yojana*, solved by Buddha on the occasion of his marriage-examination. Indian knowledge was so much respected in Hellas that when Alexander started on his Eastern expediton, his teacher, Aristotle, is said to have advised him to take scholars with him to learn the Eastern wisdom. At Takṣaśilā, he interviewed Indian Gymnosophists, but more like a conqueror than like a scholar. His followers carried back with them not Indian wisdom, but absurd myths about the country. The only benefit which he derived from Indian science was that he employed Indian doctors in his army.

Internal trade, water-borne (on canals and on the sea) and land-borne (on carts and as shoulder or head loads, or on the backs of cattle), developed much in this age. Traders (*vāṇija*) came from one class of the community, but Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and others, also, could take part in trade. Merchants travelled in caravans under the leadership of a *sattavāha*, who was a kind of alderman (*jeṭṭhaka*). Partnership in commerce, tempo-rary or permanent, existed. Anāthapiṇḍaka, the Mahā-seṭṭhi of Sāvatthi, who was much devoted to Gautama, was the head of a large firm; heads of smaller firms were called seṭṭhis. Trading routes existed going East and West, North and South, such as one from Benares across the desert of Rājaputāna to Bharukaccha (Broach), another to Tāmraliptī on the east coast, a third to Bāveru (Babylon), a fourth and a fifth to South India along both coasts, a sixth from Sāvatthi to Patiṭṭhāṇa, and a seventh from Kāviri-paṭṭinam right across South India to Uṛaiyūr, Karūr, Madurai, and thence to the Malabar coast. The

route to Bāveru went along Takṣaśilā, to which Brāhmaṇas went for learning. Rivers were crossed on ferry-boats. The use of metal-currency had largely replaced barter. The silver Kahāpaṇa was the ordinary coin used. The Nikka (*Niṣka*) was a gold coin, as also Suvaṇṇa (*Suvarṇa*). Besides bronze and copper coins, cowry shells were used for small change. Promissory notes (iṇapaṇṇāni, *ṛṇaparṇani* debt-leaves) were also in use. Interest (*vṛddhi*, vaḍḍhi) was charged at various rates. Wealth was also hoarded and buried in houses or in jars under the riverbank such as the famous wealth of the Nanda Rājā washed away by the Gaṅgā.

Foreign trade also was much developed; men in bodies of 100, 500, 700, etc. went in ships for purposes of trade. Among others, the following sea-ports may be noted :—Tāmraliptī, Kāviri-paṭṭinam, Koṛkai, Muśiṟi, Suppārā, Bharukaccha. In Babylon there existed a colony of Indian merchants and dealings with them have been found recorded in the tablets of Babylon. Land-trade developed very much in the time of Darius and then silk first reached the west through Indian traders. Cotton-cloth, cutlery, armoury, ebony and teak-wood, embroidery, perfumes and drugs, grains, ivory and ivory work, jewellery, pearls and precious stones were the chief Indian exports. Greek traders carried these articles from Babylon to western Asia and beyond. Hence Indian names of articles of merchandize were borrowed by the Greeks and are mentioned by Sophocles, Aristophanes and other writers. They were Gr. *oryzos*, through Arab. *Arus* from Tamil *ariśi*, Gr. *Karpion* from Tam. *Karuva*, cinnamon; Gr. *ziggiberos*, from Tam. *iñjivēr*, perhaps through Sans. *Śṛṅgivera*, Gr. *pepperi*, from Tam. *pippali*, long pepper, but since extended to black pepper, and Gr.

beryllos, from Sans. *vaiḍūrya*. Besides the articles enumerated above, we learn from Herodotos that the Persians reserved the supplies from four villages for feeding their Indian hounds. Parrots and peacocks and probably serpents were also exported; also gingili-oil, cocoanuts, and other articles.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MAURYAN EPOCH. (*c.* 322-185 B.C.)

Candragupta the Maurya, as we learn from that peerless Sanskrit drama, the *Mudrārākṣasa* was a scion of the Nanda royal house[1]. The rule of the Nandas was tyrannical. Cāṇakya, according to one tradition, a learned Brāhmaṇa of Kāñcīpura, in those days the southern-most outpost of Āryan culture, organized a confederacy against the last Nanda, one member of which was Parvataka, a king of some Himālayan districts and put Candragupta at its head. The Nanda king was deposed and slain and Candragupta ascended the throne of Pāṭaliputra. Cānakya then got rid of Parvataka, whose son Malayaketu and the remaining alllies withdrew their troops to a distance. Rākṣasa, the minister of the Nanda and others joined the camp of the malcontents, but dissensions arose among them ; Rākṣasa was won over to Cantragupta's side and Malayaketu retired in peace.

The Generals of Alexander quarrelled among themselves about the partition of the great conqueror's dominions and in 306 B. C. Seleucus became king of Syria. He then tried to recover Alexander's Indian conquests which had passed under Candragupta. He crossed the Sindhu but had to retreat rapidly and surrender to the Emperor of Magadha not only the Indian provinces he claimed but also the Greek provinces up to the Hindu Kush of which the capitals were Kabul, and Kandahār (303 B. C.). Seleucus sent Megasthenes as his envoy to the court of Pāṭaliputra. Candragupta's

1. According to the ancient Buddhist tradition, Candragupta belonged to the Kṣtriya clan of the Moriyas. See P. H. A. I., pp. 180-181. *Ed.*

empire extended from the Hindu Kush to the Bay of Bengal, and from the Himālayas right down up to the Tamil districts. This does not mean that he conquered the countries or tribes south of the Vindhyas or brought them under the administration of his officers; it merely means he was acknowledged as the overlord (*samrāṭ*) and the upholder of the *Dharma* (sacred and secular) throughout his empire.

His capital city, Pāṭaliputra, built on the north bank of the Sōn, between it and the Gaṅgā, was as we learn from Megasthenes, 9 1/5 miles long and 1 mile 1270 yards broad. It was surrounded by a palisade of timber with loopholes for archers to shoot through, with 570 towers and 64 gates; around it ran a ditch, filled from the Sōn, 200 yards wide and about 60 feet deep, which served both for defence and as a public sewer. His palace, though built of timber, was more magnificent than that of Persia, its gilded pillars being adorned with golden vines and silver birds. Outside the palace was an extensive park where peacocks and pheasants, and other birds, free and unconfined, lived. There were shady groves of evergreen trees whose branches were cunningly woven together. There were besides lovely artificial tanks, stocked with large and gentle fishes. Inside the palace, were used vessels made of solid gold, some six feet wide, others of copper studded with gems and richly carved chairs of state. Dressed in gorgeously embroidered clothes the emperor held his *darbār*. He went out in palanquins decorated with gold and precious stones. Similarly were adorned the trappings of the horses and elephants on which he rode. He renounced all this glory after a reign of twenty-four years, like many other Indian princes both before and after him, became a Jaina monk and along his 12,000 disciples, trudged on foot to the province of Kuntala, lived by beggary at Śravana Beḷgoḷa in the frontiers

of the dominion he once ruled over as Emperor. After several years of the hard life of the Jaina Bhikku, he performed the rite of *sallekhana*, slow death by starvation.

His son, Bindusāra, ruled for twenty five years[1]. The only things we know about his reign are that Tārānātha, a seventeenth century Tibetan author of "*History of Buddhism*,' has recorded an ancient tradition that Bindusāra 'slew the kings and ministers of some sixteen capitals and thus extended his empire from sea to sea.' We learn from the classical writers that Daimachus was the Greek ambassador at his court, and that Bindusāra asked Antiochus for some figs and sweet wine. Bindusāra reigned from *c.* 298 B. C. to 273 B. C. The Greeks called him Amitrochates (Amitraghāta, 'slayer of foes').

Aśoka, one of Bindusāra's sons, was sent out by his father as *Yuvarāja* to Takṣaśilā when disaffection broke out there. He ruled as *Yuvarāja* also at Ujjayinī and when he was residing there, his father died. There must have occurred a war of succession of which an exaggerated account is given in Ceylonese legends; for Aśoka underwent *abhiṣeka* (the Vaidika coronation ceremony) four years after his father's death. Possibly in the earlier years of his reign he improved the organization of the government of his empire; for besides the two viceroys of his father's time one stationed at Takṣaśilā, who controlled the Panjāb, Sindh, Kāśmīr and the districts beyond the Sindhu upto the Hindu Kush, and the other at Ujjayinī who ruled over Mālwā, Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ, there was one at Tosali who governed the East coast districts and another at Suvarṇagiri, probably in the Deccan. He built a new capital Śrīnagar in Kāśmīr and later in his

1. For a discussion on the Chronology of the Mauryas, see *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 557-564. *Ed.*

life another Lalita Patan in Nepāl. Eight years after his coronation he had to fight with the people of Kaliṅga. This province had come under the rule of Magadha during the reign of Mahāpadma Nanda who dug a canal in it; and as it could not have got out of hand under the vigorous rule of Candragupta and of Bindusāra, we have to suppose that, due perhaps to Aśoka's appointment of a Viceroy at Tosali and tightening the bonds of administration, the Kaliṅgas revolted. Aśoka calls the people of Kaliṅga *avijita* (unconquered), for Mahāpadma Nanda never conquered them in battle, but became their Samrāṭ on account of possessing a vast army. Aśoka repressed the rebellion with a stern hand; and as he himself says, 150,000 persons were taken as captives, 100,000 slain and many times that number perished. This event profoundly affected him; he forswore war and resolved to conquer the hearts of his subjects and of the people of foreign countries by *Dharmavijaya* (conquest by virtue). In other words he made up his mind to act fully upto the ideal preached in all old Hindu books, that the duty of a king is to teach *Dharma* to people and maintain and protect its practice. This is described by some scholars as conversion to Buddhism'. Aśoka remained all his life a king and a *gṛhastha*, and had many sons and grandsons when he died. The *Divyāvadāna* relates a legend that Tiṣyarakṣitā, Aśoka's consort in his dotage, gained control over his mind; whether this story be true or not, it is certain that a few centuries after his death, people believed that he lived and died a *gṛhastha* (not even a *vānaprastha*) and so he could not have been a *Bhikku*. In the minor Rock Edict I he says '*mayā saṅghe upayīte*' or '*sagha upete*.' Though some have translated this as '(I) have joined the (Bauddha) *Saṅgha* or order,' the correct meaning is 'I lived in a *Saṅgha*' for a year (*samvachara*). He probably did so to acquaint himself with the

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Abhidhamma, the philosophical speculations which gathered gradually around Gautama's intructions to his disciples, or to undergo a spiritual retreat for a year. The *Dharma* which Aśoka proclaimed was that ordained in the *Dharma Śāstras* for several centuries before his age.[1] Even the sentiment against the 'bloody' Vedic sacrifices which he promoted had been developed long previous to his time, when the sacrificial victims made of dough (*piṣṭapaśu*) were begun to be substituted for living animals. The gradual elimination of meat from the royal kitchen was due to Jaina influence. In his Edicts he speaks of Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas, Jainas and Bauddhas with equal reverence and his donations were impartially distributed to each. Probably he approved of the extremely popular 'Middle way', prescribed by Gautama to the ascetic members of his *Saṅgha*, as a much better method of monasticism than the rest. He was an *upāsaka*, i.e., he listened to the *Dharma* as expounded by a Bauddha monk, for two and a half years, but that he became a monk himself is a fiction and not a fact. But so great was his respect for Gautama that after the twentieth year of his reign he went on a visit to the sacred spots connected with the Buddha, the Lumbini garden where he was born, Kapilavastu where he lived in his early years, Gayā where he had his Illumination, Sārnāth where he first preached, Śrāvasti where he lived for many years, and Kuśinagara, where he died. This of course cannot constitute Aśoka a Budddhist monk. Aśoka reigned for forty years or so and his *immediate successors* were Daśaratha who bestowed on Ājīvikas caves in the Nāgārjunī hills, Samprati who patronized Jainas and became a disciple of the monk Suhastī, and Jalauka who ruled over Kāśmīr, was a devout Saiva and defeated the Greeks and extended his dominions as far as

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1. The editor's view is that Aśoka professed and preached Buddhism, see his article in S. K. A. C. V., pp. 252–263. *Ed.*

Kānyakubja. Vīrasena ruled over Gāndhāra. The Maurya dynasty, according to the Purāṇas, endured for 137 years. The last king of Magadha, like the first who lived about 1,500 years previously, was named Bṛhadratha. He was killed by his *Senāpati* (general), Puṣyamitra Śunga, a Brāhmaṇa, while conducting a review of his troops. Petty Maurya kings, remote scions of the family, flourished in Magadha, Koṅkaṇ, and Rājaputāna so late as the VI, VII and VIII centuries A. D.

South of the Vindhyas, we learn from Aśoka's inscriptions, lived the Rāṣṭikas or Rāṭrakas, the people called in later times Marāthas (*Deśasthas*), Bhojas (of Vidarbha), Peṭenikas (of Paiṭhan on the Godāvarī) and Aparāntas (of Northern Koṅkaṇ), Pulindas (of the forest regions). More important than these were the Āndhras who established their rule over all these tribes soon after Aśoka's death. The Āndhras, though they acknowledged the overlordship of the first three Maurya emperors, were already becoming a great power. Their influence extended from the head of the Godāvarī down to Kāñcīpura, which was so much Āryanized in that epoch that Patañjali (II Century B. C.) thought necessary to explain grammatically the formation from the name of that town of the word Kāñcīpuraka, an inhabitant of that place. This town was from the beginning an Āryan and not a Tamil town. It has no Tamil name of its own; the district where it is situated was called by the Tamils 'north of Aruva' (*aruvāvaḍa talai*), Aruva being the Tamil district served by the southern Peṇṇāru, now called South Arcot. One of the names of the town is Satyavratakṣetra, and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says that Satyavrata, king of Dravida, i.e. Kāñcīpura, became Vivasvān's son, Manu. This means the first king of Kāñcīpura was Satyavrata, of or affiliated to the Solar dynasty. Probably the kings of the city were referred to by Aśoka as *Satiyaputo* (Satya-

putra). Kāñcīpura was also regarded as one of the seven centres of Āgama worship—Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantikā and Dvāravatī. Beyond Kāñcī district ruled the three great ancient Tamil royal houses, those of the Cōḷas, Pāṇḍiyas, and Cēras, whom Aśoka refers to as independent neighbours of his. To Megasthenes is attributed a funny legend about the Pāṇḍiyas. "Herakles begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasure the royal tribute so that the queen might always have the assistance of these men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments." It is impossible to make out anything from this story. The three Tamil royal houses were indigenous to South India. They had little administrative functions, seldom engaged themselves in war, but promoted trade and protected their subjects from cattle-lifters. Their towns were built at the meeting points of the wet and the dry tracts where the products of one region could be bartered for those of the other, or on the sea-coast.

Megasthenes resided for a pretty long time at Pāṭaliputra and being a keen observer wrote an account of Indian ways in his *Indika,* a book now lost, but represented by a number of quotations, more or less correct, made by later Greek and Latin writers. Even he could not resist the Hellenistic craving for sensation-mongering; he repeated the fables of ant-men with variations of his own; of men with one leg, with ears reaching to the feet, of men with gentle manners without a mouth and living on the fumes of roast meat; of girls in South India who became mothers when they were six years of age, of pearl-oysters which travelled in shoals under the headship of a

king-oyster, and of flying snakes which dropped a terrible poison from the air. But his testimony with regard to what he saw with his own eyes is most valuable. His account of capturing elephants agrees closely with modern practice and his stories of the wisdom of elephants are reliable. His description of monkeys as human in intelligence, looking like ascetics, bearded like satyrs and with a tail like a lion's, though quaint, is correct. He was much impressed with the size of pythons. He had heard of tigers, wild goats and the rhinoceros and of the fierce Indian dogs, which "would not relax their bite upon a lion, although their legs were sawn off."[1] He noted that the elephants were trained to salute the king when they saw him. Of plants what chiefly attracted him was the sugar-cane, " the reeds that make honey without the agency of of bees," the water in which, absorbed from the soil was " so warmed by the sun's heat that the plant was virtually cooked as it grew."[2] By that time, Indians seem to have begun to make their own sugar and sugar-candy. Megasthenes regarded the latter as a kind of crystal, which when ground by the teeth, was sweeter than figs or honey.

Of the daily life of the people, Megasthenes has some interesting things to say. Of course his attention was attracted by ways of life which were characteristically different from those of Hellas. "A noble simplicity seemed to him the predominant characteristic." As in the Vedic age they wore a piece of cloth reaching the middle of their shins, threw another about their shoulders and wound a third round their heads; these garments were dyed in bright colours. They dyed also their beards; the love of bright colours has always been a characteristic of Indians. They protected themselves with umbrellas

1. C. H. I., I. p. 407.
2. *Ib.* p. 404.

in the hot weather; the richer people wore ear-rings of ivory, ornaments of gold, flowered muslins and high heeled shoes of white leather elaborately decorated. Their staple food was boiled rice with sweet-curry and usual liquor, rice-spirit. Men could marry more than one wife and brides were purchased for a yoke of oxen, as in the age of the early *Sūtras*. The funeral rites were simple and there was no display nor were grand monuments built, in contrast to the practice in Hellas. Though the people had written inscriptions, books were transmitted by oral tradition. Indians always spoke the truth and law-suits were rare. Theft was rare and houses were left unlocked at night.

The chief gods worshipped, according to the Greek accounts, were Dionysus and Heracles. By the former they probably meant Śiva; but it is difficult to guess what similarity the Greeks noted between their Dionysus and the Indian Śiva. Possibly they noticed drunken revelry among the crowd, gathered for a temple festival and imagined it was a Bacchic orgy. Heracles was worshipped by the Suraseni (Śūrasenas) in the cities of Methora (Mathurā) and Clisobora (Kṛṣṇapura), near the Jobanes (Yamunā). Hence by Heracles they probably meant Kṛṣṇa. From this we see that the Āgama forms of worship had, in this age, entirely superseded the proper Vedic worship and that the theory of this epoch being a 'Buddhist period,' is romance and not history. An Indian legend asserts that Aśoka was a worshipper of Śiva and this ought not to be dismissed as absurd, for with all his respect for the Buddha and his patronage of monks of all classes, Śiva might well have been 'the God of his choice' (*iṣṭa-deva*); such wide toleration and want of fanatic adherence to one rite to the point of fierce hatred of others, have always been characteristic of Indians, though foreigners can never understand it. The prevalence, amongst the

people of the teachings of the Āgamas and the Purāṇas is further proved by the facts that Megasthenes speaks of the long periods of time into which Indians divided past time and that he "was given at the court of Pāṭaliputra a list of the kings who had preceded Candragupta on the throne, 153 in number, covering by their reigns a period of over 6000 years."[1]. This shows that the Purāṇic genealogical lists were maintained at the royal court in the IV century B. C. Megasthenes divides 'philosophers' into those who dwelt in the mountains and worshipped Dionysus and those who dwelt in the plains and worshipped Heracles. This means perhaps that the worship of Śiva, who was originally a mountain-deity, was more popular in the towns of the hilly tracts and that of Kṛṣṇa, originally a pastoral God, in the towns on the plains. Skanda, who as Murugan was the red hill-deity of the Tamils now appears in the Āryan pantheon as the God of war and the son of Śiva.

The 'philosophers' or 'Sophists' were divided by Megasthenes into 'Brāhmaṇas' and 'Śramaṇas' His description of the former is so accurate, considering that Megasthenes was a foreigner who got his information by enquiry, and is such a confirmation of the fact that the life of the Brāhmaṇas of the Mauryan period remained unchanged from the age of the Upaniṣads, that it is worth quoting in full. "The Brāhmaṇas have the greatest prestige, since they have a more consistent dogmatic system. As soon as they are conceived in the womb, men of learning take charge of them. These go to the mother and ostensibly sing a charm (*Pumsavana mantras*) tending to make the birth happy for mother and child, but in reality convey certain virtuous counsels and suggestions; the women who listen most willingly are held to be most fortunate in child-bearing. After birth, the boys pass

1. C. H. I., I, p. 409.

from one set of teachers to another in succession, the standard of teachers rising with the age of the boy. The philosophers spend their days in a grove near the city, under the cover of an enclosure of due size (*gurukula*), on beds of leaves and skins, living sparely, practising celibacy and abstinence from flesh food, listening to grave discourse, and admitting such others to the discussion as may wish to take part. He who listens is forbidden to speak, or even to clear his throat or spit, on pain of being ejected from the company that very day, as incontinent. When each Brāhmaṇa (*brahmachāri*) has lived in this fashion thirty-seven years, he departs to his own property, (becomes a *gṛhastha*) and lives now in greater freedom and luxury, wearing muslin robes and some decent ornaments of gold on his hands and ears, eating flesh so long as it is not the flesh of domestic animals, but abstaining from pungent and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as possible, to secure good progeny; for the larger the number of wives, the larger the number of good children is likely to be; and since they have no slaves, they depend all the more upon the ministrations of their children, as the nearest substitute."[1]. By the word 'Saramanes' (*Śramaṇas*), Megasthenes refers to all those who have renounced the world. "The most highly honoured are called 'Forest-dwellers' (apparently Megasthenes includes in them *Sanyāsis* of all kinds.). They live in the forests on leaves and wild fruits, and wear clothes made of the bark of trees, abstaining from cohabitation and wine. The kings call them to their side, sending messengers to enquire of them about the causes of events, and use their mediation in worshipping and supplicating the gods."[2]. This sentence reminds one of numerous instances of this in the *Itihāsas*, and the *Purāṇas* and is therefore a cus-

1. C. H. I., I. p. 419.
2. *Ib.* p. 420.

tom coming down from Vedic times. Megasthenes then goes on describing as other classes of *Śramaṇas* medicine-men, *Sādhus*, diviners and magician ascetics. He then reverts to others of a higher and finer sort, though even these will allow themselves to make use of popular ideas about hell, of those ideas at any rate which seem to make for godliness and purity of life. In the case of some Sarmanes [i.e. the Jainas and the Bauddhas], women also are permitted to share in the philosophic (i.e. ascetic) life, on the condition of observing sexual continence like the men.[1] Referring to the Jaina practice of *Sallekhana*, he quaintly remarks that suicide " was not a universal obligation for 'wise men'; it was considered however rather a gallant thing and the more painful the manner of death, the greater the admiration earned.'"[2] Another writer divides the ' wise men ' into Brāhmaṇas and *Pramnais*. The latter were " the *Prāmāṇikas*, the followers of the various (*avaidika*) philosophical systems (*darśanas*). "[3]

The Seven 'tribes' or endogamous castes into which he divides the people is the queerest thing described by Megasthenes. The first class, he calls 'the philosophers,' meaning thereby Brāhmaṇa *Gṛhasthas*. It was numerically the smallest class but the highest in honour. "Its only business was to perform public sacrifice, to direct the sacrifice of private individuals, and to divine. On the New year all the philosophers assembled at the king's doors and made predictions with a view to guiding agriculture and politics."[4] This is exactly what takes place to-day, too, in the palaces of Hindu kings, in the village temples, and in the houses of noblemen and is called *pañcāṅga śravaṇa* a modern name. The second class

1. *Ib*. p. 420.
2. *Ib*. p. 421.
3. *Ib*. p. 421.
4. *Ib*. p. 410.

formed the bulk of the population and consisted of husbandmen. They "are in disposition most mild and gentle. They are exempt from military service and cultivate their lands undisturbed by fear. They never go to town, either to take part in tumults, or for any other purpose."[1]. This is true of Indian farmers even to-day. The third class included herdsmen and hunters, the fourth, traders, artizans and boatmen, the fifth, the warriors, most numerous after the farmers, the sixth, of policemen who reported to the king about what went on among the people, and the seventh, councillors and assessors of the king. This classification is the result of the futile attempt of an ancient Greek to understand the Indian caste system as it existed in the fourth century B. C.

The *Artha Śāstra* **of Kauṭilya (Cāṇakya)** is a treatise composed by the prime minister Cāṇakya for the edification of his royal master Candragupta. Some scholars regard the work as belonging to Post-Mauryan times because the author regards India not as one vast empire (*Sāmrājya*) but as composed of states of moderate extent. This opinion is due to a misunderstanding of the word *Sāmrājya*. Its connotation is utterly different from that of the word 'empire'. The Roman empire meant the governments of a series of states brought under the sway of Rome by conquest, pacified by Roman soldiers who were the upholders of *Pax Romana*, brought under the reign of the Roman law and administered by Roman officers with Latin as the language of the courts and the schools. A *Sāmrājya* was something totally different. If the ruler of an ancient Indian state, became powerful and commanded a large army, he proclaimed himself *samrāt*, all-king, *cakravarti*, all-ruler, *ekachatrādhipati*, lord of the one umbrella. This was done generally in connection

1. A. I., p. 83-84.

with an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, in which a horse was let loose in the charge of a prince, as a challenge to the kings of other provinces to question the imperial status claimed. Rarely was the challenge accepted and when it was, the *samrāṭ* established his over-lordship at the point of the sword. The subjection of the other *rājās* to the *samrāṭ* consisted usually in their attending the horse-sacrifice with presents and formally getting recognized by the *Samrāṭ* as kings of their own territories. These kings continued to rule their countries by means of their own officers. Sometimes an '*uparāja*' (Viceroy) resided in these subordinate royal courts as representatives of the overlord for collecting tribute, etc. Sanskrit was the sacred language of suzerain and liege alike and the method of administration, the same throughout the country, conducted in accordance with the *Dharma Śāstra* coming down from old time. The *Sāmrājya* continued so long as the *Samrāṭ* was a giant among pigmies and as this has never been anywhere in the world for more than two or three generations, there never was any imperial house in Indian History, enduring for a long time. Hence the *Arthaśāstra* reflects the conditions of government which prevailed in India unaltered throughout the ages, whether there was a *samrāṭ* or no, and we can construct a full picture of the state of the country in the IV and III centuries B. C. from that treatise.

The king was the guardian of *Dharma*, social, domestic, and religious order, and defender against anarchical oppression; for exercising these functions he was entitled to his revenue, and invested with the powers of *daṇḍa* (*dama*, repression of crime). This concept of the functions of the king resulted from the fiction that when *matsya nyāya*, (the law of fishes, i.e. the bigger one swallowing the smaller one) prevailed, Manu was elected king by the people so that he might encompass their wel.

fare (*yogakṣema*). The king's functions were not legislative but executive. The laws were proclaimed from time to time by the authors of the *Dharma Śāstras*, who derived them from scraps of legal lore in the *Vedas* and the remembered tradition (*smṛti*) of the customs of the golden age of the Ṛṣis, and slightly altered them from age to age according to the exigencies of changing circumstances. The king had to obey the *Dharma Śāstra* as much as his subjects and hence he was in no sense an autocrat. To enable him to discharge his duties properly, he was educated both in the secular sciences, i.e. arithmetic, literature etc., and in philosophy, Vedic lore, the *Dharma* and *the Artha Śāstras*. His daily life was regulated by a strict routine ; every half-hour during the waking moments had its own allotted work, like looking into accounts, interviewing people, study, issuing writs, deliberations, reviewing the army, discussing military plans, *Sandhyā*, receiving police reports, etc. He was responsible not only for the general welfare of the state but the special business of the Gods, the heretics (*śramaṇas, pāṣaṇḍas*), the Brāhmaṇas, cattle, sacred places, minors, the old, the diseased, the helpless, etc. The foremost item in the business of the Gods was the daily fire-worship.

In one of the rooms of the Palace there was an *agnyāgāra*, fire-house, where the Sacrificial priests daily performed fire-worship on behalf of the king. The *Artha Śāstra* enjoins that " the king should be seated in the room where the sacred fire is kept and attend to the business of physicians and ascetics and that in company with his high priest and teacher (*purohita* and *ācārya*.)"[1].

The principal royal amusement was big game hunting. The king rode on elephants during the chase.

1. A. S., Book I, ch. XIX.

Chariot races were the next; we learn from Greek writers that to the chariots were yoked two oxen with a horse between them. The king, nobles, and ordinary people betted heavily on the occasion. Another amusement was the witnessing of butting matches between rams, or wild bulls or rhinoceroses or fights between elephants. When the king went out on these occasions or in procession otherwise, he was surrounded by a bodyguard of women archers (*yavana* women were imported for this purpose and other royal service); women also carried the emblems of royalty, i.e., the royal umbrella (*chattra*), the fly whisk (*cāmara*) and the golden pitcher (*pūrṇa kumbha*). The royal path was roped in to keep out the crowd.

The palace was a walled building; in the front court was an armed retinue, controlled by the *dauvārika* or chamberlain and the *antarvamśika* or head of the bodyguard. Next to it dwarfs, hunchbacks, etc; the king resided in the innermost court with the apartments of ladies and tanks behind it. Great precautions were taken to guard the king's life, for princes, "like crabs, have a notorious tendency towards eating up their begetter." But yet the king was accessible to the poorest petitioners and he saw them while he was undergoing his daily inunction by the *samvāhaka* (masseur), for as the *Artha Sastra* says, "all urgent calls he shall hear at once, but never put off." To protect the king's life there were in the palace mazes and hidden stair-cases; the kitchen was in a secret place and there were many tasters of his food.

A council of ministers (*mantripariṣad*) of twelve to twenty members assisted the king in the government of the land for "sovereignty is only possible with assistance. A single wheel can never move. Hence the king shall employ ministers and act upto their opinion." The ministers were generally drawn from all Varṇas; thus in

Candragupta's time, Puṣyagupta, a Vaiśya, was governor (*rāṣṭriya*) of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra and Tuṣāspa, a *Yavana* (probably Hellenized Persian) was a Viceroy under Aśoka.

A hierarchy of officials administered public affairs. The local officials were village headman, the *grāmaṇi*, the *gopa* in charge of five or ten villages, the *sthānika* ruling over a portion of the realm, each attended by a number of executive, revenue and police officers. In Aśoka's time the highest local officials were *rājūkas* who were chiefly concerned with survey, settlements, and irrigation. Megasthenes calls the district officials, *agronomoi* and says that they supervised irrigation, land-measurement, hunting, industries (i.e., agriculture, forest industries, wood-work, metal-work, mines), and roads (which were provided with mile-stones indicating distances). At the head of these was the *samāhartā*, Minister of the Interior and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The state revenue (*āyaśarīram*) was collected in seven different kinds of localities, according to the sources whence it was derived. In the forts, which were built in the proportion of one to about a thousand villages, were received the collections from tolls, fines, coinage, liquor, slaughter-houses, warehouses and many similar sources. From the country parts came the land tax, road cess, fees from boats, ferries, etc., receipts from the sale of grains, etc. From the ocean and land mines came ten kinds of revenue, for they were systematically worked; other forms of revenue were received from gardens, forests, stalls where live-stock was herded and the roads, besides customs, license fees, fines from the law courts, property without owners, special taxes for religious objects, 'benevolences' from the rich, and proceeds from the institution of new temples and cults of new images of the gods. It must also be added that the king owned crown lands

(*svabhūmi*) and that he was the chief manufacturer and trader in the land.

The public expenditure (*vyayaśarīram*) comprised many heads, i.e. divine worship, the maintenance of the sovereign and his court, the salaries of the vast army of officials, the maintenance of the store houses, treasuries, prisons, armouries, warehouses etc., controlled by the *Sannidhātā*, minister of works and his department, the conduct of state industries and trade in charge of numerous superintendents called *adhyakṣas*, e.g., *paṇyadhyakṣa*, superintendent of trade, *navādhyakṣa*, of ships, *lakṣaṇādhyakṣa*, of the mint etc., the army and its equipment, public works, the maintenance of the families of slain soldiers and officials dying during employment, the old and infirm, of hospitals for men and animals, etc. " The business of the Treasury was carefully and minutely organized, with distinctions of current, recurrent, occasional and other expenditure and various checks. Moreover, both in the town and country the various grades of officials maintained full registers both of property and of the population."[1] There was systematic registration of births and deaths; besides vital statistics, records were kept of foreign residents and visitors; a detailed census of the population was maintained. Every event of importance throughout the kingdom was reported by official reporters (*pativedaka*). This and the elaborate system of police espionage that was kept up required a vast clerical system, supervised by the *praśāsta* or Minister of correspondence.

The head of the executive, revenue and judicial service was the *pradeṣṭā* Besides him there were the *antapālas* or guardians of the Frontier Districts, and the *durgapālas*, or commanders of Forts who worked under

1. C. H. I., I. p. 488.

the command of viceroys (*uparājas*) of distant provinces. To the list of public officials Aśoka added the *Dharma Mahāmātra*, whose duty it was to teach the *Dharma* to all and sundry.

The war office was administered by a commission of thirty members divided into six Boards of five members each, each Board in charge of one of the following departments:—(1) Admiralty, (2) Transport, commissariat and army service including drummers, grooms, mechanics and grass-cutters, (3) Infantry, (4) Horse-brigades, (5) Chariot-brigades and, (6) Elephant-brigades. The working of the war-office was very efficient as indeed were all other administrative organizations. The military consisted of "hereditary or feudatory troops, hired troops, gild levies, and forest tribes"[1]. The army was divided into four limbs (*caturaṅga*). The elephant brigade was relied upon for confounding the enemy's array, his fortifications and encampments. The chariots drawn by horses and oxen were the next limb and from them fought specially skilful archers. The cavalry was used for furiously charging the foe. The infantry was organized in squads of ten, companies of a hundred and battalions of a thousand each. The Mauryan army consisted of 9,000 elephants, 8,000 chariots, 30,000 horses and 600,000 foot, the total number of fighting men being nearly 700,000 excluding non-combatant camp-followers and attendants. The *Senāpati* was the commander-in-chief, but the king took part in battles, for no king who did not fight in the forefront of the battle-field was at all respected. Men and animals were protected by defensive armour. The weapons used were, besides bows and arrows, lances and javelins, swords and axes. Fixed and mobile engines, such as the *sataghni* (hundred-slayer) were also used. Forts were built syste-

1. C. H. I., I., pp. 418 and 489.

matically with "ditches, ramparts, battlements, covered ways, portcullises, and water-gates; and in the assault the arts of mining, countermining, and flooding mines were employed no less than the devices of diplomacy. In short, the Indians possessed the art of war."[1]. But the ethics of fighting was taught as a part of *Dharma* and fair-fighting (*dharma yuddha*), 'not attacking the wounded or those already engaged or the disarmed, and sparing those who surrendered,' were insisted on. One result of the practice of *dharma yuddha*, Megasthenes notes with admiration, was that the tillers of the soil, even when a battle was raging close by, were in no danger, for although the combatants on either side killed each other, they did not hurt the cultivators; they did not ravage an enemy's land with fire nor cut down trees. Chivalry in war was also strictly followed in Tamil India as in the rest of the country. The wars of the Cōḷas, Cēras and Pāṇḍiyas with one another, were not wars of conquest, but rather duels, conducted yearly in the season of the year when they had nothing to do after the harvest, and chiefly for the exhibition of personal valour and skill in fighting; for the boundaries of these three dominions remained unchanged throughout the ages.

Foreign policy, in direct contrast to the principles of *dharma yuddha*, as Cāṇakya taught it, was based on Machiavellian principles. This is quite a new note in Indian teaching and was perhaps the result of the extinction of Kṣatriya royalty. Cāṇakya teaches that the superior power shall wage war, that it is power that brings about peace between any two kings, for 'no piece of iron that is not made red-hot will combine with another iron'; and that the neighbouring state is the enemy and the alternate one the ally, and that war should use the arts of

1. C. H. I., I, p. 490.

treachery. Aśoka after his fight with the Kaliṅgas renounced the teachings of his grandfather's teacher and proved that *Dharma vijaya* was not only an ideal but was entirely practicable in the world. He exhorted in his XIII edict his sons and grandsons not to regard it as their duty to effect conquests and to practise the only true conquest, that by means of *Dharma*. He claimed that he had won *Dharmavijaya* both in his own dominions and six hundred *yōjanas* in the realms of Antioka, Turamaya, Antikini, Maka and Alikasundara (Antiochos, Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander), as well as in the southern realms of Cōḷa, Pāṇḍiya and Tāmraparṇī and that even where his envoys did not penetrate men practised the *Dharma*[1].

"**Of law the bases** are defined as, in ascending order of validity, sacred precept (*dharma*) agreement (*vyavahāra*), custom (*caritra*), and royal edicts (*rājaśāsana*), and the subject is expounded rationally, not theologically"[2]. Brāhmaṇa assessors helped in the trial of suits in law-courts. To the plea was allowed a counter-plea and a rejoinder. Often *pañcāyats* acted as arbitrators. The magistrate (*pradeṣṭa*) was assisted by the police in getting information. The joint-family system prevailed.

Irrigation was carefully looked after by the state. Puṣyagupta built a large lake called Sudarśana in Surāṣṭra; Tuṣāspa provided it with conduits (*praṇāḷa*).

Towns were numerous, ranging "from the market-town (*sangrahaṇa*) serving ten villages, through the county-towns (*khārvaṭaka* and *droṇamukha* at a river's mouth) for 200 or 400 villages, the provincial capital *sthānīya* or *Thānā*) the great city (*nagara, pura*) or port (*paṭṭana*) to

1. For the identification of the Greek Kings, see Prof. K. K. Mookerji's Aśoka, p. 166. *Ed.*

2. C. H. I., I. p. 485.

the royal capital (*rājadhāni*) all provided with defences of varying solidity "[1]. They were governed by *nāgarakas*, mayors assisted by a number of minor officials. The towns which were built near the rivers or the sea, were, says Megasthenes, built of wood but those built on elevated places were made of brick and clay. No kiln-burnt bricks of an earlier date than the IV century B. C. have been as yet found in the Gangetic plains; and brick-making was a recent art in Aśoka's time.

The government of the capital was conducted by six *pañcāyats* or committees of five members each in the charge of industrial workers, visitors and foreigners who were fed and lodged by the state, vital statistics, trade and commerce and weights and measures, manufactures and prevention of fraud therein, and tolls and duties on sales. The other larger cities were probably administered on similar lines. The great cities were well-fortified; there were guard houses (*gulma*) for troops in various wards. The streets were provided with watercourses for drainage and there were strict regulations for keeping them clear of rubbish. Thousands of vessels of water were placed along the streets as a precaution against fire, for houses, even storied ones were built of timber.

Village affairs were managed by autonomous local *pañcāyats*; artizans and traders had gilds (*śreṇis*) to help them. In Tamil India, which practically consisted only of villages, local administration was in the hands of assemblies of elders, held in a field (*podiyil, manṛam*), in the open air or in a shed, under the village tree, which was of the species adopted by the king as his particular emblem and in which resided the village deity. The disputes among villagers were settled over a pot of toddy, local custom being the only law. The village cattle were also

1. *Ib.* pp. 475-6.

herded there and 'soft-shouldered woman' resorted to it for *kuravai* and other dances (*kūttu*). The Cōḷas had the *ātti* tree (bauhinea racemosa) as their sacred tree, the Pāṇḍiyas, the *vēmbu* (margosa) and the Cēras, the *panai* (palmyra) as theirs. Each tribe wore the leaves and flowers of its tree as its emblem and its uniform during combats.

Paura and Jānapada (Borough and county) councils are referred to frequently in early and late literature. The administration of municipal and rural affairs was conducted by them, under the general supervision of the local representative of the sovereign. They were, in a sense, representative institutions, as they were composed of the learned elders, heads of gilds, etc, who represented the view of the common people. But it is not accurate to call them democratic institutions in the modern sense; still these leaders were chosen or rather accepted by the communities whom they represented, and generally acted so as not to give much offence to their 'constituents'. It is true that they did not represent the views of the people, declared at or before they became members; nor were such views likely to be formed, as the law as propounded by the authors of the *Dharma Sāstras* carried with it its own authority and what was not covered by the *Sāstras* was under the iron grip of immemorial custom. Such councils existed from the *Mantra* period, till very recent times.

The people led a simple life, frugal in eating and sober; but they made merry in fairs and festivals. They dressed gaily and trooped out in large numbers when kings and others organized entertainments for them. Dancers, singers and actors there were in plenty to amuse them. Kings provided them with dramatic shows, boxing and wrestling matches, animal fights, etc. *Gaṇikas* (public women) exercised their profession and were often in the

pay of the police. The people of the Tamil country led a gayer life than those of the rest of the country because they were not yet oppressed with longings to attain *mokṣa*. The normal method of marriage with them was *kalavu*, lit., theft, a reminiscense of the primitive form of marriage by capture, which consisted of love and its immediate consummation followed leisurely by the literal tying of the marriage knot round the neck. The symbol of marriage was the hanging of a *tāli*, originally a tiger's tooth and later an imitation of it in metal tied to a string. In the agricultural tracts marriage preceded love (*kaṟpu*); and the institution of harlotry (*parattamai*) also arose. There were thus only two forms of marriage in contrast to the eight of Āryan India. The people led pleasant open-air lives, raising crops, catching fish, hunting, tending cattle and bartering the products of each region with those of others. They delighted in wearing flowers on their persons and developed a symbolic language of flowers.

The common religion of the people, i.e. the usual household rites done by men and women, was Vedic or pseudo-Vedic. Aśoka tells us, "people perform various propitiatory ceremonies (*maṅgalam*), when sick, when they invoke gods and marry wives (*āvāhavivāhesu*), when children are born, and when they start on a journey. On these and other (*ana*, *anya*) occasions people celebrate auspicious rites. But at such times women (*mahidāyo*, *mahilā*) perform many, manifold, low (*chuda*, such as are popular among the lower castes) and useless ceremonies." From Aśoka's testimony we may understand the primary religion of the land was still *Vaidika* or *Āgamika*.

The popular public worship, however, was no more the gorgeous Vedic rites, but that of Śiva and Viṣṇu in temples built of timber or brick, though the Vedic fire worship was the official religion of the three higher *varṇas*

with the Brāhmaṇa acting as priest; kings, though they were no more of Kṣatriya stock, were by a legal fiction, regarded as Kṣatriyas and the Vedic fire was maintained in the palace by the royal priests. Aśoka has been by some western scholars called the Constantine of Buddhism[1]; this is wrong for there was as yet no "Buddhism," the Bauddhas still forming but a monastic community, though much larger in numbers than the monks of other orders and though they lived permanently in large buildings and did not lead a wandering life like other ascetics. According to Megasthenes, the greatest share of popular adoration belonged to Śiva and Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. Indra (*Zeus Ombrios*) and Sūryadeva (Soroadeios) are also mentioned by Greek writers.

The doctrine of the *Trimūrti*, the triple manifestation of one Supreme God was evolved probably in this age. It was an attempt on the part of the *Paurāṇikas* the revisers of the *Purāṇas* age by age, to minimize the jealousies of the Vaiṣṇavas on the one hand and the Śaivas and Śāktas on the other. The three manifestations were (1) Brahmā the creator, who from the very beginning was left in the cold in household and temple-worship, since his work was over when he created the world, and his aid is not wanted by anybody, though his wife, Sarasvatī, the Muse, obtains *pūja*-offerings from those who desire to gain knowledge, (2) Viṣṇu, who carries on the current work of sustaining the universe, helps his devotees to reach blissful immortality in Vaikuṇṭa, his Supreme Abode (*paramapada*), and, (3) Śiva, the Great God, who destroys the Universe when *pralaya* is due and also puts an end to the *samsāra*, cycle of births and deaths,

1. For an estimate of Aśoka's services to Buddhism, and his place in history, see Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's Aśoka, Chs. V and VII. *Ed.*

i.e., ends the manifested world so far as the individual is concerned. The wives of the two latter are also living divinities, except that Lakṣmī has always been subordinate to her husband, and that Pārvatī, especially in her form of Kāḷī, Śakti, commands devotees of her own who follow esoteric practices and rites and regard her as of much greater moment than her husband, for she is to them the active energy of the cosmos. Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas and Śāktas while accepting the principle of the unification of the three Gods, yet assert the superiority, each of their own sect, the first making Mahāviṣṇu, the substratum of the three, the second by according a similar status to Maheśvara, and the third by making Śiva an inert deity.

The Jaina cult was in this age divided into that of the *Digambaras* (sky clad) the older form, and the *Svetāmbaras* (white-clad), the newer.

The Bauddha monks met in their third council, in the reign of Aśoka, to discuss doctrinal differences and fix and close their canon which had grown into the *Tripiṭaka*, the three baskets of *Sutta*, *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma*. As a result perhaps of this convocation, bodies of missionary monks were despatched to different parts of India. At the sametime Aśoka's children, (by Devī, whom he had married when he was a *Yuvarāja* in charge of Ujjayinī) Mahinda (Mahendra) and Saṅghamittā (Sanghamitrā) who had become Bauddha ascetics, went to Ceylon. There the reigning king, Devānāmpiya Tissa built the Great Vihāra for them to reside in. They admitted many Ceylonese to their monastic order. The common people learnt for the first time *Dharma* and the religious theories, like those of *Karma* and Reincarnation, common to all schools of Indian thought, and became lay disciples of the monks. The organization of lay disci-

ples led to the birth of Buddhism as a religion belonging to monks and laymen alike. Aśoka does not at all refer to these missionary activites of Bauddha monks, for he was interested in teaching his own *Dharma* for laymen and not in recording the activities of of Bauddha or other monastic orders. North Indian monks spread in South India in this age. As the result of the residence of Jaina ascetics in Śravaṇa Beḷgola, they spread to the Tamil country, where many natural mountain caves, where they lived and died, have been discovered. Bauddha monks also swarmed in the land. Other Sanyāsīs haunted its forest retreats. *Tīrthas* and tiny temples, such as the one at Cape Comorin, sacred to the Āgama Gods, arose. But yet the bulk of the Tamil people worshipped their regional Gods. Their own priests conducted those rites, which were associated with primitive ritual dancing and orgies of drinking and feasting. The pessimism of the North and the consequent anxiety to escape from life in bodies of flesh did not yet touch the hearts of the Tamils. They enjoyed the goods the Gods gave them and took no thought of salvation.

Aśoka's maintenance of *Dharma* (*dharmaparipālana*), the ideal of all the Kings of India througout the ages, was in some respects strikingly different from that of all other Indian monarchs before or after him. Theirs was a negative method, that of exercising *daṇḍanīti*, punishing those who broke the *Dharma*. His was the positive method, that of proclaiming the *Dharma* to the common people and, in imitation of Darius, inscribing it on rocks and pillars at spots, where people congregated in large numbers for religious and secular fairs and festivals, and in the local scripts. As he says, in Pillar Edict VII, kings before his time desired that men might grow with the growth of *Dharma*; hence he arranged that men might be instructed in *Dharma* by his agents and that his *Dharma mahāmātras* might watch the practice of it not

only by the common people, but also in Bauddha monasteries, and by Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and Jainas. The ministers of *Dharma* were also royal almoners.

Aśoka's *Dharma* was not religious[1]. It was pure ethics with only one religious sanction behind, namely that the practice of it, as he says, secures happiness in this world (*hidapālate,* Pillar Edict I), conduces to welfare in the next world (*pālatikyāye,* Rock Edict X), bears much fruit in the next world (*paratrikam,* Rock Edict XIII). This next world is definitely called *svarga,* the heaven of all Indians of the day, which is the temporary abode of the dead till they are reborn. Aśoka does not concern himself about *Mokṣa, Nirvāṇa,* escape from compulsory rebirth; the pessimism that underlies the teaching of all Indian *darśanas,* which are all methods of reaching *Nirvāṇa,* is totally absent from his inscriptions; this alone is sufficient to prove that he was never a monk; his *Dharma* may be called rationalistic or lay ethics. His chief principles were: (1) A strenuous life and prompt attention to duty (Minor Rock Edicts I and VI, Rock Edict X) are necessary for ensuring the delights of this world and the next. (2) Truth, and respect for father, mother, *guru,* Brāhmaṇas, and ascetics lead to length of days (Rock Edicts II, IV). (3) True almsgiving is love to superiors and inferiors (Rock Edicts XII). (4) Abstention from slaughter of animals for sacrifice, for feasts, for daily food or other purposes, and from hunting, is meritorious. (Rock Edicts I, IV, VIII, Pillar Edict V). (5) Toleration for all sects is a duty; for all sects desire self-control and purity of thought (*yama, bhāva śuddhi*). Restraint of speech, i.e., not praising one's own sect and not disparaging others is meritorious and will tend to the growth of one's own sect (Rock Edict XII, and Pillar

1. For a contrary view, see S. K. A, C. V., pp. 252-263. *Ed.*

Edict VI). (6) The old (Vedic and pseudo-Vedic) auspicious rites (*mangaḷam*) ought to be performed though they are of small (*alpa*, temporary, unenduring) fruit; but the *Dharma* produces great fruit. (Rock Edicts IX). This includes, besides the virtues already enumerated, self-examination (Pillar Edict III), and meditation (Pillar Edict III). This is pure secular ethics unconnected with religious dogma.

This desire for *Dharma vijaya*, was born in Aśoka's bosom on account of the sorrow caused by the Kaliṅga war and the misery to people it involved. A great *vairāgya*, absence of desire for ordinary worldly pleasures, stirred in his heart and he went forth in search of wisdom[1] (*sambodhi*, i.e., *viveka*, *jñāna*, and *not* the Bauddha Dharma). He set out on the pilgrimage of *Dharma* (*dhamma yātā*). He describes this pilgrimage as consisting in the paying of visits to ascetics and Brāhmaṇas (the compound *samanabambhana* occurs frequently in his inscriptions) and giving gifts to them, paying visits to elderly people and men living in the country, preaching *Dharma* (*dhammanusathi*), and discussing the *Dharma* (*dhamma-palipuchā*, *dharmaparipraśna*, Rock Edicts III and IX). The mere inscribing of the *Dharma* on pillars and rocks did not satisfy him; for he says he attracted people to the places where the *Dharma* was publicly expounded "by the beating of drums (*bhērighōsa*), as also by means of displaying of aerial chariots (*vimāna darśana*), elephants, illuminations or fire-trees (*agikhandhāni*) and images of gods (*divāni rūpāni*). This last means exhibitions of representations of the Āgama Gods. Otherwise also Aśoka shows his acceptance of Āgama theories; for instance he uses the phrase *avakapam* (*yāvat kalpam*), 'up to the end

1. *Sambodhi* is also interpreted by some scholars as 'the place where Buddha obtained enlightenment'. See Bhandarkar's Asoka, pp. 17, 80, 84. *Ed.*

of the present series of *yugas*, the present period of the evolution of the world' (Rock Edicts IV and V). All this has nothing to do with the propagation of Buddhism or any other *ism* then prevalent in India, but merely intended to improve public morals. The Bhābrū Edict in which Aśoka reminds Bauddha monks of certain Bauddha texts and the three tiny minor Pillar Edicts where Aśoka threatens to unfrock monks and nuns who tried to disrupt the Saṅgha have been used for proving that he was a Bauddha. But they only prove what he himself asserted in other places, that he and his *Mahāmātras* would look after the prosperity of all sects in his empire, for he as an ideal king was responsible for the proper conduct of all public institutions.

Trade between North and South India, rose to great proportions in Mauryan times. According to the *Artha Śāstra*, shells including mother of pearl, diamonds, sapphires and other gems, articles of gold, blankets and cotton cloth were taken from South India and exchanged for horses, aromatic materials, and drugs of North India. Goods were taken in caravans of carts and oxen. The inland trade-routes were both by water and by land. The water-routes were by canals and by the sea.

Foreign trade both overland and overseas flourished very much in this age. For securing the purposes of this trade, Megasthenes says, the Emperor linked up existing routes and thus made the Grand Trunk Road which ran from Puṣkalāvatī in Gāndhāra, through Takṣa-śilā, Kānyakubja, Hastināpura, Prayāga, to Pāṭaliputra and thence to Tāmraliptī. Alexander after conquering Egypt, founded the city of Alexandria, which became a centre of trade between India and Europe. But he sacked the city of Tyre and ruined its ancient trade. This dammed to some extent the flow of Indian trade to the west. After the death of Alexander anarchy reigned in

Assyria ; a new empire arose in Parthia ; nomad tribes began their inroads into Bactria. These events led to the decline of the overland trade. "Ptolemy I Philadelphus (285-246 B. C.) who was ruling in Egypt strove to take advantage of it and develop the Red Sea trade to the advantage of Egypt. Various caravan routes, provided with wells and stopping places, were opened between the Nile and the Red Sea. Ports were established where the routes terminated, the chief of which were, Arsinoe (the modern Suez) close to the Egyptian capital; Hormuz, the principal port of the Egyptian trade with India, six or seven days' journey from Koptos on the Nile, whence merchandize was floated down to Alexandria; Berenika also an important centre of Egypt's eastern trade; Ptolemias near the Nubian forests, the centre of the elephant trade; and Adulis, the present Massowah, the natural port for Abyssinia and the Soudan. Trade was limited to these ports and supervised by Government officials who levied duties. Egypt to some extent recovered her former glory. It is said that in the processions of Ptolemy Philadelphus were to be found "Indian women, Indian hunting dogs and Indian crows—also Indian spices carried on camels."[1] The Emperor of Magadha took part in this foreign trade. The *Artha Śāstra* describes in detail how the various superintendents (*adhyakṣas*) had to account for articles in the treasury account books—pearls, beryls, diamonds, corals, sandal-wood, *agaru*, scents, skins, woolen blankets, garments of fibre, silks, cotton fabrics, besides the products of mines, such as gold, silver, bitumen, copper, lead, tin, iron, crystals, shells, salt. These and forest produce formed the chief articles of merchandize which was supervised by the Superintendent of commerce (*paṇyādhyakṣa*). For encouraging foreign trade, taxes on imports were remitted. The Superintendent of

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1. I. H. Q. Vol II pp. 290-291.

ships (*nāvādhyakṣa*) was ordered to show fatherly kindness to weather-beaten ships arriving at ports and cancel the tolls of ships whose merchandize was spoiled by water. Pirate ships (*himsrikā*) were destroyed. The trade with Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Burma) and with Indo-China was developed. "From several centuries before the Christian era a double stream of traders and adventurers began to flow into Indo-China from Northern and Southern India, reaching the upper parts of the Peninsula by land through Burma and its southern coast by sea, and founding there settlements and commercial stations."[1] The Āryas (Brāhmaṇas and Bauddhas) carried thither their ancient culture and the Tamils carried on trade. A steady demand for pepper and incense existed at this time in China in exchange for silk and sugar. The necessities of trade and the large amounts needed for salaries of officers led to the development of coinage. The silver *paṇa* was the unit coin. For purposes of trade punch-marked coins of silver (*purṇā*, *dharana*) were issued by traders. The finest specimens of the early punch-marked coinage have been found at the ancient site of Eraṇ, about forty miles N. E. of Bhilsa (Vidiśā), which occupies a central position on the road from the western seaports to Pāṭaliputra.

Progress in literature was maintained during this period. Cāṇakya wrote the *Artha Śāstra* to help Candragupta, whose strong and righteous administration abolished the anarchy and misrule due to the profligacy and unpopularity of the previous Nanda King. Cāṇakya had many names or titles, Kauṭilya (under which name he wrote the *Artha Śāstra*), Viṣṇugupta, Dramiḷa (being a southerner), Pakṣilasvāmī, Mallanāga, and Vātsyāyana. Under the name Pakṣilasvāmī he wrote a *Nyāyabhāṣya*, and of Vātsyāyana, a *Kāmaśāstra*. It is an epitome of

1. *Vide* J. R. A. S. 1904, pp. 233-247.

Bābhravya's *Kāma Sūtras* in a book of moderate size, adding here and there illustrations of his own. In the text of the book we now have, have been inserted illustrations by later writers who lived after the age of the Āndhras and even after the Cōḷa country had been Āryanized. It is not right to decide the period of Vātsyāyana from such adventitious passages. Vātsyāyana treats Bābhravya's work as an *āgama*, or scripture. He quotes from the seven expounders of Bābhravya. A number of passages from the *Artha Śāstra* are embodied in Vātsyāyana's work. Rāmānujācārya refers to a Dramiḷācārya, as a commentator on the *Vedānta Sūtra*. There is nothing inherently incredible in one and the same man writing on so many subjects; and it is but proper that the minister who wrote on administration and war, should deal also with love, dialectics and philosophy, all of which subjects have always been dear to Indian monarchs. Probably the existing recensions of these books are enlarged versions of those first composed by Cāṇakya, for they contain references to them and events of a date later than the author's. The *Tantrākhyāyikā*, which later on became the *Pañcatantra*, probably belongs to this period, when Pāṭaliputra was the premier city of India. Sālihotra wrote on veterinary science. The literary forms of the Śāstra and the Kāvya became definitely fixed, but of the latter kind of literature we do not possess any specimen of Mauryan times. The *Bauddha Tripiṭaka* probably reached its present form now; the *Kathāvatthu* also belongs to this period. The Jaina canon also was definitely fixed in a council held at Pāṭaliputra, C. 300 B. C. In the Tamil poems of the period, almost all of which are lost, literary convention distributing different regions and associating them with the fauna and the flora of those regions, became definitely fixed. The Tamil literary dialect was also conventionalized and

standardized once for all. All this Tamil poetry was entirely free from any Sanskrit influence in the matter of literary form, metrics or vocabulary. The only form of poetry then in use in Tamil was the short ode.

Education spread wider in this age than in previous ones. In the Bauddha monasteries (*vihāras*, *saṅghārāmas*) instruction was given in the Bauddha legends and scriptures to the monks. The education of novices (*śramaṇera*) was also taken up. Rules for their training, were made in imitation and training of *Brahmacāris*. Their hair and beard were clipped; they were dressed in yellow and, in imitation of the initiation in Gāyatrī, were made to repeat 'I take refuge in Buddha, I take refuge in Dharma, I take refuge in Saṅgha'. The rules of discipline for Bauddha disciples contained in the *Patimokkha* are a little laxer than those which obtained in the schools of the Brāhmaṇas; the method of training was the same. The teacher was called *upājjhāya* (whence the modern titles *ojha* and *jha*). In the Jaina monasteries very much stricter rules prevailed and Sanskrit scholarship attained a rare degree of excellence. The education of princes embraced the study of (1) *Ānvikṣiki* i.e. Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata, i.e. rationalistic philosophy, (2) the three Vedas, (3) *Vārta*, i.e. agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade, and (4) *Daṇḍanīti*, the science of Government. The Tantrākhyāyikā (and in later centuries, the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*) were written to teach the principles of *Daṇḍanīti* in the form of tales. The arts of fighting formed of course the chief subject of Kṣatriya education; but it may be noted that even these were taught by Brāhmaṇas. The Vaiśyas learnt besides the Vedas, the value of gems, pearls, corals, metals, cloth, perfumes, condiments, agriculture, and the various languages of men, i.e., the spoken dialects. The artizans were apprenticed to merchants or others very early in life;

they first learnt drawing from specimens of art-work (a practice not quite extinct even now), and then, their special craft. They also studied books specially written about their art, as well as mythology and the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. The Kharoṣṭhī script was used for writing in the Northwest and Brāhmī in the rest of India, both scripts being mentioned among the things learnt by Buddha in his boyhood. Of the Brāhmī, a variety, now called Southern Brāhmī was used in South India. The earliest specimens of it are found in the inscriptions in the natural caves of the Madura country. Attached to the *vihāras* were *Caityas*. The Bauddha *Caitya* was an exact copy of a Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava *Caitya* or temple, but with a *stūpa* instead of the idol. These latter, too were originally made of brick and wood, like all other buildings of the period. Aśoka's own palace at Pāṭaliputra, of which traces of a pillared hall have been recovered, probably had brick foundations and plinths and stone pillars, the rest of the structure being made of timber. The stone palace of Aśoka 'with elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work' made by demons according to Fa Hsian, must have been a structure of later times. Excavated dwelling-places like those on the Barābar hills preceded everywhere in India the erection of stone structures by a few centuries. Aśoka also built *stūpas* in honour of Buddha. The one at Sāncī is a specimen. As Aśoka left it, it was a mass of solid brick masonry, with a plain stone railing around, exactly like a wooden railing. The *stūpa* is a hemispherical dome crowned by a stone umbrella. The most remarkable of Aśokan monuments are the Lāṭs or monolithic pillars, ten incribed and the others uninscribed. These pillars are of massive proportions, forty to fifty feet high, round and slightly tapering, with a capita. shaped like the down-turned lotus flower, and so well-polished that some observers thought they were made of

'cast metal'. Some of these pillars are topped with animal figures, viz., the lion, the elephant, the bull. The lion-capital at Sārnāth is "the product of the most developed art of which the world was cognisant in the third century B.C.—the handiwork of one who had generations of artistic effort and experience behind him. In the masterful strength of the crowning lions, with their swelling veins and tense muscular development, and in the spirited realism of the reliefs below, there is no trace whatever of the limitations of primitive art."[1] Because of the technical skill of these sculptures and on flimsy grounds, certain critics have assigned a Græco-Persian origin to them, whereas it is but a case of the perfection of wood-carving attained through long ages now being transferred to stone. These pillars are not found in the far districts where the Rock edicts were incised; because stone work commenced in North India in the VI Century B. C. and stone-masons had time to develop skill and the art gradually creeped on to south of the Vindhya. Cave temples began in Āryāvarta in the third century B. C. and in the Tamil country only in the 6th Century A. D. Aśoka's Lāṭs have been supposed to be Bauddha sculptures because of Aśoka's supposed conversion to Buddhism. Pillar worship prevailed in India from pre-Āryan times as is approved by the sculptures recovered from Moheñjo Dārō. In the *Atharva Veda Samhita*, (X. 7 and 8) Skambha is lauded as the Supreme God. *Skambha* is a phonetic variant of *Stambha* (pillar). In Pre-Āryan days, the pillar (Tam. *Kandu*, *Kandaḷi*) was worshipped in every village and after Āryan ideas spread, the word came to mean the Supreme God. The pillar was the variant of the *liṅgam* and both symbolize the phallus or creative energy. Like every other pre-Āryan emblem, the pillar was absorbed by the Vedic cult. The pillar cult was also

1. C. H. I., I. p. 620.

absorbed by those of Viṣṇu and Śiva and combined with that of animal totems. Thus a pillar with a Garuḍa on the top was planted in front of Viṣṇu idols. In later times this became a *dhvajastambha*. The pillar topped by a bull was taken up by the Śaiva cult. And the Garuḍa and the Ṛṣabha also became the vehicles respectively of Viṣṇu and Śiva.

The monuments of Aśoka have endowed him with immortal fame as much as his Edicts. They are of three kinds, cave monasteries, pillars and *stūpas*. The cave monasteries were excavated in the hard gneiss of the Barābar and Nāgārjunī hills near Gayā by Aśoka and his grandson, Daśaratha, and donated to Ājīvika monks. They are testimonies of the infinite patience of the stone mason in producing a highly polished surface out of the most refractory rock. The Lomasa Ṛṣi Cave on Barābar hills, (which has now a facade ornamented with a well-carved frieze of elephants) is an exact copy of a temple of wood. When the Indian workman substituted stone for wood as material to work on, he unhesitatingly copied in stone both the plain and the decorated work he before executed on wood. Aśoka built regular monasteries (*vihāras*) for the residence of Bauddha monks. The most famous of them was the Kukkuṭārāma in Pāṭaliputra. They were built of brick-in-mud and wood and have all perished without a trace. The bricks recovered from the Aśokan buildings at Sārnāth are unwieldy in size and of inferior quality. *Vihāras* were built for Bauddha monks because they lived together in large numbers disregarding the ancient law that Sanyāsīs ought not to live in the same place except in the rainy season for two days together. Monks other than Bauddhas observed this law rigorously and required no buildings to live in. The Lion was the vehicle of Kāḷī and the Elephant of Indra. Aśoka, who respected all cults on account of the

characteristic absence of jealousy among the gods of India impartially dedicated pillars to all of them. The wheel (*cakra*), an ornament found on some of these pillars, again, was not peculiar to any one sect, though in modern Tibet it has become a specific Bauddha symbol. The wheel of Being and the wheel of *Yajña* were as familiar ideas as *Dharma cakra.* For these reasons it is not right to speak of Aśoka's Pillars as Bauddha memorials. Monuments other than Aśokan were erected in this age. Thus in the Rāmgaḍh hill (Sirguja state) there are two caves, "reached through a natural tunnel 180 feet long and so high that an elephant can pass through it," named Sītābengā and Jogīmārā caves. In them there are two inscriptions in an ancient Brāhmī script and the Māgadhī dialect. The former says, "Poets venerable by nature kindle the heart....At the swing-festival, of the vernal full-moon (*vasantiya*), when frolics and music abound, people thus tie (around their necks garlands) thick with jasmine flowers." Probably this refers to an actual Holī-celebration there, and theatrical performances acted in the cave; the cave is cut as a theatre and theatrical arrangements of the III century B.C. can still be seen there. The inscription in the Jogīmārā cave says, "Sutanukā by name, a Devadāsī, made this resting-place for girls. Devadinna by name, skilled in painting." The girls referred to were actresses. The cave contains paintings, of the III cent. B.C. now much decayed. They picture elephant-processions, nude human figures, birds, animals, horse-chariots etc, besides geometrical designs[1]. The evidence of these caves and the festivals referred to in Aśoka's inscriptions, as well as Vātsyāyana's *Kama Sūtras* prove that in this period, people led a gay life and were not enveloped in Buddhistic and Jainistic gloom

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1. A. S. I. R. 1903-4, pp. 123-31.

and indecent haste to renounce the joys of the world, as is suggested by the numerous monastic caves and the teachings of Buddhist books.

The theory of a Buddhist period of Indian history has been invented by some scholars. The early biographies of Gautama Buddha describing his daily contact with the common people, such as we do not possess for other great ancient Indian teachers, the early building of numerous *stūpas* for the purpose of enshrining his relics, the raising of numerous *vihāras* for his monks to dwell in, such as were not wanted for other monks who did not dwell in large communities, the easy cosmopolitan Bauddha monachism such as was not possible for the severe Jaina asceticism and the Brāhmaṇa *sanyāsa* considered as the last stage of the Brāhmaṇa *āśramas*, have led to the idea that there was a 'Buddhist period' in the history of India, when 'Buddhism' was first and the other '*isms*' nowhere. This period is assigned by some scholars to the age that elapsed from the death of Buddha to the accession of Candragupta Maurya, when a Brāhmaṇa reaction is supposed to have taken place; others have described this reaction as being due to the accession of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and yet others, to that of Samudragupta. All this is false history. As V. A. Smith has pointed out, " it must be clearly understood that Brahminical Hinduism continued to exist and to claim innumerable adherents throughout the ages. It may well be doubted if Buddhism can be correctly described as having been the prevailing religion in India as a whole (or even in any one province) at any time. The phrase 'Buddhist period' to be found in many books, is false and misleading."[1] The religion that has prevailed in India from the VI century B.C. onwards is that composite of the gradually thinning

1. O. H. I., p. 55.

out Vedic rites and increasingly prevailing Āgama forms of worship covered by a veneer of selected ideas from the six *Darśanas*, and the *Jñānapāda* of the *Āgamas*, including under the latter the Śaiva, the Vaiṣṇava, the Bauddha and the Jaina Āgamas, mixed together in inextricable confusion, and honeycombed with Ārya and Dasyu magical practices, to which we apply the name 'Hinduism' today. The heart of this composite is the teachings of the Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Śākta Āgamas, more or less brought into consonance with the Vedānta. The evolution of Hinduism from the Gupta age to the present day consists in this gradually increasing reconciliation between the Āgama and the Vedānta principles and the changes in the outward forms of Āgama worship. In this age permanency was given to the images of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Kāļī evolved by the Āgama-writers by reproducing them in stone and thus fixing for all time the types of idols to be installed in temples.

In the VI century A.D. a great wave of Bhakti, devotion to the human manifestations of Viṣṇu and Śiva, flowed all over the land. The Vedic rites were quite dead so far as the bulk of the people were concerned. The Brāhmaṇas stuck to what they considered the irreducible minimum (a minimum which yet was becoming less and less age by age) of the rites of the sacred fire of which they were the custodians; and the kings performed the greater Vedic rites off and on lest their newly won Kṣatriya status should prove shaky. The magical rites of the Mahāyāna mysteries, and the logical subtleties of the Bauddha and Jaina monks could not appeal to the ordinary men of healthy instincts, who felt the need of the outflow of loving submission to the Most High. The legends of Śiva and Viṣṇu just satisfied this need and the cults of these Gods increased in popularity. Thus a wave of devotion to these Gods spread in the land. The crest

of this wave attained the greatest height when it reached the Tamil country and a great religious revolution was the result. To the Tamil people, always craving for the concrete, the temple-ritual, the essence of which consisted in showing royal honours to the divine visitor in the form of a human image and the dramatization of the legends about the miracles performed by the two Gods, made a special appeal. The ritual dancing and singing which came down from very ancient times, (and occasionally the sacramental use of intoxicants) led to rich emotional experiences which made life very much worth living. Temples of brick and wood were built in almost every major village of the Tamil country, and dedicated to one or other manifestations of Śiva or Viṣṇu. The two Āgama cults of this age acknowledged the four-*varṇa* social system, but retained enough of the original cosmopolitanism of the Āgama path to allow the lower castes the privilege of divine worship and of reaching Mokṣa thereby and thus deprived the Bauddha and the Jaina cults of their only advantage. The older Tamil Gods and their old methods of worship lost caste and prevailed only among the men who had themselves lost caste. The worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu produced a great state of religions exaltation; and the neurotic condition caused thereby led men to see visions of their Gods working wonderful miracles and each local manifestation of the Gods had a special fund of miracles to dispense to the Bhaktas. These miracles, exaggerated by the passage of time, got recorded in later literature. The Lives of the Tamil Śaiva Saints, Periyapurāṇam of the XI century A.D., is a storehouse of these legends. These saints were called Śivanadiyār, 'those who were the slaves (or feet) of Śivan' and a number of them lived in the VI century A.D.

CHAPTER XII.

A tangled skein of dynasties—native and foreign.
(200 B.C.-300 A.D.)

i. The last two centuries B.C.

The later years of Aśoka's *dharmavijaya* **synchronized with important events outside India,** which influenced the course of Indian history, soon after dry rot set in in the Maurya royal house, as it seems always to do, after it had flourished for three or four generations. Bactria one of the richest provinces which fell to the share of Seleucus after the death of Alexander, revolted against the rule of his grandson, Antiochus, and Diodotus set up independent rule there (250 B.C.). Euthydemus (C. 230 B.C.) usurped the Bactrian throne and a prince of his family, called Demetrius (Devamantriya) invaded India when Mauryan control of the North west weakened (190 B.C.) and established rule in the Kābul valley and the Panjāb. Eucratides usurped the throne of Bactria (*c.* 175 B.C.) and also wrested from the house of Euthydemus the Kābul valley (*c.* 165 B.C.) Thus two lines of *yavana* Rājās began to rule in North west India, the house of Euthydemus east of the Jhelum and that of Eucratides to its west.

The Śakas and the Pahlavas, (Parthavas, Parthians) were allied tribes, whom Darius had brought under his sway. One branch of this family had settled itself in Śakastāna (Sīstān) in the valley of the Hilmand, which formed the western boundary of ancient India. Darius called them Sakā Haumavarkā. They came there under the influence of the Indian religious cults and were gradually Indianized.[1] They drifted to India through Balochistān

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1. Stein discovered a Buddhist monastery in the terminal marshes of the Hilmand, *Geog, Journal.* 1916. p. 362.

or went straight from the parts of Makrān across 'the sea of salt-water' to Sindh and Surāṣṭra. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* speaks of the visit of Śāmbha, son of Kṛṣṇa to Śakadvīpa. They were so well known in India in the IV century B.C. that Kātyāyana uses the pharase *Śaka Pārthiva* as an example of nouns in apposition. The Śakas and Pahlavas were so closely associated with each other that it is impossible to distinguish between them, the same family including men with Śaka and with Pahlava names. A branch of this allied tribe under one Arsaka, founded in 248 B.C. an empire which became famous as the Arsacidian empire of Parthia. This family has little to do with Indian history, but their cousins of Sīstān extinguished *yavaṇa* power in India.

The Āndhras, a powerful tribe South of the Vindhyas, which had absorbed Āryan culture in the age of the Sūtras but had been subject to Aśoka, became, after his death, an independent power. The Purāṇas give a list of their kings and call them always Āndhras, but in inscriptions the dynasty is known by its family name, Śātavāhana. Their first king was Śimuka and the next, his brother, Kaṇha or Kṛṣṇa. Their capital was Nāsik on the Godāvarī, due west of Pūrī in the Kaliṅga country. Hence Śātakarṇi, the third king, was described by his contemporary, Khāravela of Kaliṅga as 'lord of the west.' After the II century A.D., when Āndhra power had shrunk to the East coast districts north of Madras and south of the Godāvarī, the land came to be called the 'Āndhra country'; and after the X century when the Telugu literature was born, the language was called the Āndhra bhāṣa. Hence some writers have called the Āndhras an East coast tribe. Others ascribe their origin to the Bellary District because in the II century A.D. it was called *Śātakaṇi raṭṭa*. These opinions are not correct because from its inception the Āndhra dynasty ruled to the west of

Kaliṅga and Nāsik and Pratiṣṭhāṇa (Paithaṇ) were their capitals. The cave inscriptions of Nānāghāṭ, the pass leading from Junār in the Deccan to the Koṅkaṇ, describe the statues of Śimuka, Śātakarṇi and his queen Nāganikā, daughter of Mahārathi, king of the Rāṣṭrikas (of the Koṅkaṇ), as also three princes, of whom one was Śakti Śrī (Śakti Kumāra).[1] Most probably Śātakarṇi added west Mālwā (Avantī) to his dominions (*c.* 170 B.C.). The possession of the ancient city of Ujjayinī must have added to his prestige and he performed the *Aśvamedha Yāga* twice to celebrate the conquest. The earliest Āndhra coins bear the name, Śāta, of this king. The kings who immediately succeeded this Śātakarṇi were undistinguished persons.

The Cēta (Caitra) dynasty of Kaliṅga also threw off the Maurya yoke soon after Aśoka died. The third monarch of this line was Khāravela Mahā Meghavāhana (acc. C. 173 B.C.), whose biography is incised in the Hāthigumphā or elephant-cave in the Udayagiri hills in Orissa, dated in the 13th year of that king's reign. In the second year of his reign he sent an army into the territories of Śātakarṇi to the west of Kaliṅga. In his fourth year he humbled the Rāṣṭrikas and the Bhojakas who were the feudatories of Śātakarṇi. In his fifth year he repaired the aqueduct built by king Nanda. In his eighth year he harassed the king of Rājagṛha perhaps a *roi faineant*, who fled at his approach. In his tenth year he sent an expedition to Bhāratavarṣa; and in his twelfth year he watered his elephants in the Gaṅgā and compelled the king of Magadha, probably Puṣyamitra Śuṅga to bow at his feet and brought back the statue of the first Jina, Ṛṣabhadeva which had been taken away by

1. E. I., X, App. pp. 121,

the Nanda Rāja[1]. The Cēta family declined in power after Khāravela; the districts in the north of the East coast passed under a number of petty Rājās.

At this time the greatest of the *Yavana* Rājās, Menander (Milinda.) reigned at Sākala; this city is described in a Bauddha book as 'a great centre of trade', 'situated in a delightful country, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods'. Menander subjugated the Indus delta and Surāṣṭra. He also invaded Magadha, penetrated as far as Pāṭaliputra, but was beaten back by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga[2]. Menander struck a great variety of coins which circulated far and wide long after his death. He is held in great reverence by the Bauddhas as the disciple of one of their monks, Nāgasena, whose dialogues with Milinda are called *Milinda Pañha*, a well-known Buddhist book. He was succeeded by a number of *Yavana* princelings who were always fighting with one another, and who are hence described by Garga, in his astronomico-astrological treatise, the *Gārgī Saṃhitā*, as *duṣṭa vikrāntāḥ*, 'viciously valiant warriors.' These princes issued a large number of beautiful coins which were imitated by their successors in north west India.

Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, after the assassination of Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya, ruled as *Senāpati* over what remained of the Maurya Empire, i.e. Magadha, Vidiśa (Ākara or E. Mālwā), with the Vatsa king of Kauśāmbi, the Pañcāla king of Ahicchatra (near the village of Rāmnagar in the Barēlli district) and the king of Mathurā as feudato-

1. J. B. O. R. S., iii, 425–507. For the different views on the identification of 'Nanda-rāja and other kings, see P.H.A.I. pp. 256-258, 284-285. *Ed.*

2. According to other scholars, the Indo-Greek Contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga was Demetrius and not Menander, See P.H.A.I., pp. 259-267. *Ed.*

ries. His son Agnimitra, the hero of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, was viceroy of Vidiśa. After the return of Khāravela (c. 161 B.C.) from Magadha, Menander invaded the Madhyadeśa and penetrated it as far as Pātaliputra, as we learn from the *Yuga Purāṇa*, a chapter of *Gārgī Samhitā*. Patañjali refers in his *Mahābhāṣya* to two incidents of this war, namely the siege by the *Yavanas* of Sāketa in Oudh and Mādhyamikā in Rājaputāna, as recent events. Puṣyamitra successfully turned back the tide of invasion. His son Agnimitra defeated Yajñasena of Vidarbha, and Vidarbha became a tributary state to the Śuṅgas. By this time *Senāpati* Puṣyamitra reached the climax of his power and he wanted to celebrate the *Rājasūya yāga*. Patañjali refers to this *yāga* in the present tense. Puṣyamitra sent the horse, dedicated for the *Aśvamedha* rite, in charge of his grandson Vasumitra, with a guard of a hundred warriors. They had to fight with a squadron of *Yavanas*, probably an outpost of Milinda's, on the banks of the Sindhu, probably the branch of the Yamunā. There are Bauddha legends to the effect that Puṣyamitra persecuted the Bauddhas at Sākala; probably this merely means that he defeated Milinda's army and no more, for some of the finest of Bauddha monuments were erected in the time and in the provinces of Puṣyamitra and his successors. From the death of Puṣyamitra (c. 149 B. C.) the history of Magadha becomes obscure. Agnimitra succeded him at Vidiśa. The fate of the next king, Vasumitra, mentioned above is told by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* in the following words: "Being overfond of the drama he was attacked by Mitradeva in the midst of actors, and with a scimitar shorn, like a lotus stalk, of his head."[1] The last king but one was Bhāga (bhadra), in whose fourteenth year Heliodorus, son of Dion, came to Vidiśa, as ambassador of Antialcidas,

1. H. C., p.192.

Yavana Rājā of Takṣaśilā of the line of Eucratides (100 B. C.). The last Śuṅga Rājā was Devabhūti. Of him says the *Harṣacarita*, "In a frenzy of passion the over-libidinous Śuṅga was at the instance of his minister Vāsudeva reft of his life by a daughter of Devabhūti's slave-woman disguised as his queen."[1] (*c.* 73 B. C.)

Vāsudeva, forcibly overthrowing the dissolute king, Devabhūti, became 'king among the Śuṅgas'. He and his successors, Bhūmimitra, Nārāyaṇa and Suśarmā "are remembered as the Śuṅgabhṛtya [Śuṅga-servants] Kāṇvāyana Kings. These four Kaṇva Brāhmaṇas" enjoyed "the earth for 45 years".[2] Then their territory, i.e., Vidiśa, passed to the Āndhras.

Other minor states in this period were Kosala, the coins of whose kings have been found, the tribal oligarchies of Kṣatriyas, such as the Yaudheyas of South Panjāb and North Rājaputāna, the Ārjunāyanas of the Bharatpur and Alwār States, the Udumbaras of Gurudāspur, the Kulūtas of the Kulū valley, the Kuṇindas of Simla hills, all represented by coins. At first the Pahlavas and then the Kuṣāṇas absorbed these petty kingdoms.

The Yueh-chi were a people who lived between the mountains and the Great Wall which was begun by the Emperor Shih Huang Ti (246-209 B. C.) to prevent the inroads of the Hūṇas into China. The Yueh-chi were defeated by the nomad Turkī tribe of the Hiung-nū, (Huṇas) c. 165 B.C., and moving along the route to the north of the Taklamakān desert, they defeated the Wu-sun tribe and killed their king. They passed on and took possession of the country of the Śakas of the Jaxartes and the Śakas, being driven to the southwest,

1. H. C., p. 193.
2. D. K. A., p. 71.

occupied Bactria (c. 130 B.C.). Meanwhile the son of the Wu-sun king, with the help of the Hiung-nū, defeated the Śakas and drove them into the country south of the Oxus. This stream of Śakas impeded by the *Yavana* power in Kābul bent westwards to Herāt and thence southwards to Sīstān, mingling with the Śaka-Pahlavas already settled there. This led to the increased migration of Śaka-Pahlava adventurers to India. Their kings bore the Persian title of 'king of kings', *Sāhānusāhi* and, when they succeeded the *Yavanas* as rulers of Gāndhāra and the Panjāb, took also Greek titles of similar import, such as *Basileos Basileon Megalon* and its Prakrit version *Rājātirāja Mahanta.* The Śaka-Pahlavas that went to Surāṣṭra used another Persian title, *Kṣatrapa* or *Mahā-kṣtrapa.* Originally the word *Kṣatrapa* meant 'a governor', but in Parthia it was used as the equivalent of 'king', and in India too it meant nothing but a king; the theory that every *Kṣatrapa* must have had a 'king' as an overlord, is incorrect, nor is it supported by inscriptional evidence.

The first Śaka-Pahlava king to rule in India was Moga (Moa, Maues), who wrested Puṣkalāvatī from the *Yavanas* (c. 120 B.C.). He and his princes issued coins copied from those of both *Yavana* houses with legends in Greek on the obverse and in Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse. The 'Great king' Moga thus thrust a wedge between the Greek princes of the Kabūl valley and those of Eastern Panjāb, and his son Aya (Azes) extinguished *Yavana* rule in the Panjāb; and so his coins are found on the banks of the Indus and the Yamunā which are copies of those of the *Yavana* kings who had ruled there. Hermaeus, the last king of the house of Eucratides, was supplanted about the middle of the first century B.C. probably by another Śaka-Pahlava house, of which the first kings were Vonones Śpalahores and Śpalagadames, who ruled over Kandahār

and Sīstān and whose coins are like those of Hermaeus. These Śaka-Pahlavas called themselves 'Great King of Kings.'

The Śaka-Pahlava rulers of Takṣaśilā and Mathurā called themselves *Mahākṣatrapas* and *Kṣatrapas* (Rājās and Yuvarājās). Liaka Kusūlaka and his son Pātika ruled at Takṣaśilā, Rañjubula (Rājūla) and śoḍāsa, at Mathurā. They were of the Khaharāta clan.

The Śaka-Pahlava Rājās of Surāṣtra and Mālwā were also Khaharātaś. The first of them was Bhūmaka whose copper coins are found in Gujarāt, Kāthiāwāḍ and Mālwā. The best known Rājā of this clan was Nahapāna. From the Paṭṭavaḷis of the Jainas of the *Sarasvati Gaccha* we learn that he must have lived for 45 years, or more. A futile attempt to identify him with Mambarus, king of Barygaza, according to the *Periplus*, has been made but it is far too ingenious to be correct. Nahapāna struck innumerable silver coins in imitation of those of *Yavana* Rājās with regard to size, weight and fabric. They bear Greek, Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī legends. The Greek one is *Rannio Zaharatas Nahapanas*, which is the attempt to transliterate *Rājñño Khaharātasa Nahapānasa*. Nahapāna calls himself Rājā and not Kṣatrapa in his coins. The use of Greek indicates an early age for Nahapāna and renders probable the date *c*.120-75 B.C. which is about the period given to him in the *Jaina Paṭṭāvalis*[1].

Ujjayinī, according to the *Kālakācārya Kathānaka*, the story of a Jaina teacher of the name of Kālaka, was after Nahapāna's time ruled over by Gardabhilla for 13 years. The king abducted the sister of Kālaka, who thereupon persuaded a Śaka *Sāhānusāhi* to dethrone

1. Some scholars place Nahapāna in the beginning of the 2nd Century A. D. For arguments see, E. H. D. (1928) p. 46 and P.H.A.I., pp. 331-335. *Ed.*

him and occupy his throne. After four years Vikramāditya defeated and killed this Śaka in 58 B.C. and recovered Mālwā. Alberūnī in the XI century A.D. recorded a tradition that this battle took place in the region of Karūr (perhaps Kahrōr, 20 miles N.E. of Bhāwalpur). In commemoration of this event was founded the first genuine Indian era, called the *Vikrama Samvat*, also called the era of the Maḷavas for some centuries from its foundation.

In the first half of the Christian era this same era was described as *Māḷava gaṇa stithyā* which was taken to mean 'according to the constitution of the Māḷava tribes' and was assumed to indicate the date of the migration of the Maḷavas to central India; but it really means 'accepted by the people of Mālva', adopted by them when Vikramāditya drove the Śaka king out of Malwā.[1] The era is now in use all through Northern India and among the Jainas. The truth of this story has been wantonly questioned by some scholars, simply because Vikramāditya means 'the sun of might' (as if other proper names, like the Candra, Aśoka, etc. had no meaning) and because the name does not occur in inscriptions (at a period when Mālwā was not at all rich in inscriptions.) As in the above account Vikramāditya is said to have proceeded from Pratiṣṭhāṇa to Ujjayinī, it is possible that he was an Āndhra King[2]. About this time Ākara (or East Malwā) with its capital Vidiśa, also came under Āndhra sway, the power of the Kaṇvas having declined within a few years of its establishment, and been finally extinguished *c.* 27 B.C. For a century from 58 B.C. Āndhra power was at its height. Their empire extended from sea to sea, and

1. E. I., xii., p. 319.

2. But the Āndhras (Śātavāhanas) could not have founded this or any other era because they always used regnal years in their records. *Ed.*

from the province of Mālwā to that of Kāñcīpura. Trade with Rome was much developed and embassies were sent to that city. Numerous monuments in the form of excavated cave-dwellings for monks testify to their greatness. The government of the country from the Vindhyas to the banks of the Pālār was organized on the lines of the Āryan *arthaśāstras*, though the bulk of the people followed their old Dasyu ways. Pliny refers to the Āndhras of this period when he speaks of their thirty walled towns, and their army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants[1].

ii. The first three centuries A.D.

Gudaphara, othersise Gondopharnes, was the greatest of the Pahlava kings of Takṣaśilā. The Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the Peshāwar district is dated in the 26th year of his reign in the year 103, of an unknown era. The Apostle St. Thomas is said to have visited the court of this king, who is called Gudnaphar in Syriac. *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devavrata Trātara* Gudaphara was a Śaiva; and some of his coins bear the figure of Śiva facing, with the right hand extended and holding a *triśūla* (trident) with the left. With his death Pahlava rule disappeared from East Gāndhāra. But Pahlava princes continued to rule over the valley of the lower Indus, 'perpetually at strife among themselves, expelling each other', according to the *Periplus*, in the third quarter of the first century A.D.

The Kuṣāṇas were one of the five tribes into which the Yueh-chi, who drove the Śakas out of Bactria, were divided. Each of these clans had a prince of its own, bearing the Turkī (Turuṣka) title of *Yavuga*. Early in the first century A.D. the chief of the Kuṣāṇas became the supreme ruler of all the five tribes and established

1. A. I., pp. 140-141. This account most probably relates to the earlier period of Megasthanes. *Ed.*

the Kuṣāṇa kingdom. The Kuṣāṇa power was soon extended to Kābul and Kandahār. The first Kuṣāṇa emperor was Kujūla Kadphises.

"The Kuṣāṇas were merely a family or sept; they were accompanied by their kinsmen and followers and their followers were always small. In this respect, as well as in every other, in race, in speech, in government, they differed *toto cœlo* from the Śakas, who flooded Sīstān and Indo-Scythia with their own clans." Hence it is inaccurate (J. R. A. S. 1912, p. 670, Kennedy) to apply the term Indo-Scythian to them as is often done. His son Vima Kadphises swept away Pahlava power from North West India, probably about 60 A.D., for the first Indian monument that mentions a Kuṣāṇa king is an inscription recently discovered near Panjtār in the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāwar district, set up in the reign of the Guṣana (Kuṣāṇa) 'Great king', (not named), and dated on the first day of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the year 122 (probably of the Vikrama era, i.e. 64 A.D.).

The Śakas, deprived of their power, pressed South and Mālwā became the bone of contention, in the third quarter of the first century A.D., between the Āndhras and the Śakas. In the year 77 A.D. Caṣṭana (Ptolemy's Tiastanes) a Śaka Chief, conquered Mālwā and was crowned king at Ujjayinī. It was a 'former capital' of the Śakas, when the *Periplus* was written in 60 A.D. and now again became their capital. From the date of Caṣṭana's coronation at Ujjayinī started the Śaka era, which 500 years after its inception was described in the Bādāmī inscription of Maṅgalīśa as beginning with 'the year when the Śaka king was anointed' (*Śaka nṛpatirājyābhiṣeka samvatsara*);[1] The Kṣatrapas of Ujjayinī are invariably known in Indian literature and inscriptions as *Śakanṛ-*

1. E. I. VII. App. p. 2.

patis; Rudradāmā, the grandson of Caṣṭana first used the Śaka era in his Junāgaḍh inscription of the year 72. As Caṣṭana was the only possible *Śakanṛpati* who could have been crowned 72 years before a date when Rudradāmā was reigning, it is likely that the era began with Caṣṭana's coronation at Ujjayinī.[1] Thence the era spread south along with the extension of Śaka-Pahlava power in South India till it became the prevalent era of that part of the country, and more than a thousand years after got the name of *Śālivāhana Śakābda*. Caṣṭana's dominions were extensive and included Kāṭhiāvāḍ, South Gujarāt, Mēvāḍ and Mālwā.

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the 23rd Āndhra king according to the Matsya Purāṇa list, who lived about 100 A.D., had to fight with the Śaka-Pahlavas. It is claimed that he extirpated the Khaharāta clan, which must have declined in power since the time of Nahapāna.

Kaniṣka, the greatest emperor of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty succeeded Vima Kadphises, about this time. The extent of his empire " is incidentally shown by the private inscriptions of his subjects.........[They] give us contemporary notices of him, with dates, not only from Mathurā and from Sārnāth (close to Benares) towards the east, but also from Sue-Vihār near Bahāwalpur on the north of Sindh, from Māṇikiāla near Rāwalpiṇḍi in the Panjāb, and from Zeḍa in the Yūsufzai country, beyond the Indus."[2]

Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kaniṣka, it is said, attacked Pāṭaliputra. But his greatest military exploit was the conquest of Kāṣgar, Yārkhand, and Khotān and the securing of Chinese hostages to whom he assigned a dis-

1. Rapson, Raychaudhuri and a few other scholars hold the view that Kaniṣka was the founder of this era. See C.H.I., I. p. 583. *Ed.*

2. J.R.A.S. 1907, p, 171. (Fleet).

trict called Cīnabhukti in the Eastern Panjāb. They are said to have introduced the pear and peach there. Kaniṣka patronized the Bauddha Mahāyāna sect later in life. In his early coins there are effigies of the sun and the moon; in later ones Greek, Zoroastrian, and Indian Gods are figured and in the latest, Buddha-deva. He held a council of Bauddha monks in Kuṇḍalavana in Kāśmīr. He reigned for 45 years, probably upto 160 A. D. He built the celebrated *stūpa* at Peshāwar and established the town of Kaniṣkapura in Kāśmīr, while several monasteries of that country claimed him for their founder. He must therefore have been the ruler, not only of his ancestral home, Gāndhāra and of Kāśmīr, with which his name is so intimately associated, but also of all North-western India as far as Sindh in the South and Benares in the East. His coins, notable for their abundance and their legends, are even more widely distributed. They are found in considerable quantities as far eastwards as Ghāzipur and Gorakhpur; and stray coins of Kaniṣka have been dug up in Scandinavia and Wales. J. R. A. S. 1912, pp. 671-2 (Kennedy).

Kaniṣka built near his capital city of Puruṣapura (Peshāwar) a great *stūpa*, which at that time and many centuries afterwards was the loftiest and most magnificent pagoda of India. Attached to the main pagoda on the west, he built a vast monastery. When excavated recently the walls were found to have been built up of roughly dressed stone blocks and with piles of small bricks fitted to the irregularities of the main stones with great skill and cleverness.[1] The *stūpa* was 286 feet in diameter. Its outer surface was ornamented with plaster decoration closely joined to the smooth earth and *chunam* coating of the wall.[2] A relic casket from the *stūpa*, deposited there

1. A.S.I.R., 1908-9., pp. 41-2.
2. *Ib*. p. 47.

by Kaniṣka has been recovered. It is a round metal vessel, 5 inches in diameter and 4 inches in height from the base to the edge of the lid. This lid originally supported three metal figures in the round, a seated Buddha figure in the centre, with a standing Bōdhisattva figure on either side. The sacred relics were three small fragments of bone. The casket is found to be composed of an alloy in which copper predominates, but it seems almost certainly to have been gilded originally. "The only decoration of the upper surface of the lid consists of the incised petals of a full-blown lotus, but the deep lip which fits on to the top of the casket proper shows a highly ornamental band of geese or swans, flying with wreaths in their bills, the whole being in low relief. As to the main body of the casket itself the decoration consists of a series of three seated Buddha figures supported, as it were, by a long undulating garland upheld by little Erotes with larger worshipping figures at intervals leaning out of the background towards the Buddhas, which device, extending continuously around the casket, terminates at a larger group of figures representing king Kaniṣka himself standing with an attendant on either side."[1] The above description shows that Gāndhāra Art in Kaniṣka's time was in the process of releasing itself from the bondage of Hellenic Art, a fact further proved by the very name of the artist which is mentioned on the casket as Dāsa Agiśala, a Greek name with an Indian prefix.

Kaniṣka's successor Juṣka (Vāsiṣka) built Juṣkapura with its *vihāra* and was also the founder of Jayaswāmipura. He was succeeded by Huviṣka who like his predecessors built a town named after himself and also *maṭhas* and *vihāras* in Kāśmīr. Now the Kuṣāṇa power began to decline, but their rule continued west of the Indus upto the borders of Persia, where their descendants

1. A.S.I.R, 1908-9, pp. 49-50.

used the titles of *Sāhi*, *Sāhānusāhi*, and *Devaputras*. Chinese pilgrims visited them frequently for obtaining Buddhist books. To the east of the Indus, their territories came under the rule of chiefs of the tribes of Yaudheyas, Kunindas, Madrakas and Nāgas.

Rudradāmā[1] was the ruler of Mālwā from about 130 A.D. His inscription of 150 A.D. is the first in which Sanskrit replaces Prākrit as the official language of kings. It commemorates the restoration by Suviśākha, son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava ruler of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra, and minister (*amātya*) of Rudradāmā, of the lake Sudarśana built in the time of Candragupta Maurya and breached by a storm. The inscription calls Rudradāmā lord of Ākarāvanti (E. and W. Mālwā), Anūpa (on the upper Narmadā), Surāṣṭra, Śvabhra (on the Sabarmatī), Maru (Mārwār), Kaccha (Cutch), Sindhu-Sauvīra (Sindh and part of Multān), Kukura (part of East Rājputāna), Aparānta (Northern Koṅkaṇ), Niṣāda (the Vindhyan forest-region), etc., This does not mean that he conquered all these regions in war, for only two military achievements are attributed to him, namely that he defeated the Yaudheyas and twice defeated and forgave Śātakarṇi, the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha[2]. This Śātakarṇi was Rudradāmā's son-in-law, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi.[3]

The successors of Rudradāmā are all known from their coins dated regularly in the Śaka era, with the anointment of Caṣṭan accounted as year one. They did not succeed in the regular line of primogeniture; another puzzle about them is that some call themselves *Kṣatrapas*, others

1. Rudradāman. *Ed.*
2. E. I., viii. pp. 36-49.
3. According to Mr. V. S. Bakhlé, the daughter of Rudradāman was given in marriage to Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi, a brother of Palumāyi. See J. B. B. R. A. S., III (1927), pp. 78-83. *Ed.*

Mahākṣatrapas and one of them Rudrasīha (Rudrasiṁha) calls himself a *Kṣatrapa* in 102-3 Śaka, *Mahākṣatrapa* in 103-110, then again as *Kṣatrāpa* in 110—112, and again as *Mahākṣatrapa* in 113-119. The varitaions in the title perhaps corresponded to variations in extent of power, or to the having or not of feudatories. Three inscriptions of the *Kṣatrapas* of Caṣṭana's line have been found. One is dated in 181 A.D., and in it the ruler and his predecessors are all called *Rājā Mahākṣtrapa*. The inscription is in Sanskrit prose mixed with Prākrit. Evidently the example set by Rudradāmā in using the Sanskrit *Kāvya* did not immediately become the rule. Rudrasiṁha's inscription is dated in the Śaka year, lunar month, *pakṣa*, *tithi* and *nakṣatra* and is thus almost in the modern style of date, except that the week-day is not mentioned. It records the digging and construction of a well by the Senāpati Rudrabhūti, an Ābhīra. In 205 A.D. a similar inscription records the erection of a *Śatra* (*satra*, free feeding-house) in the reign of Rudrasena. It adds the adjective *bhadramukha*, 'of gracious appearance' to the names of *Mahākṣatrapas*. The third is much defaced and refers itself to the reign of the grandson of Jayadāmā.[1] These three stone inscriptions belong to Kāṭhiāwāḍ which must have been included in the dominions of the *Mahākṣātrapas* of Mālwā[2]. But the power of the descendants of Caṣṭana began to show "the first symptoms of decline about the year 167 or 168 (A.D. 245-246)"[3]. It was extinguished *c.* 400 A.D. by Candra Gupta II.

The Āndhra king, referred to in Rudradāmā's inscription, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Srī Pulumāyi, the Siri Polemaios of Ptolemy, was the son of Gautamīputra. He

1. *i e.* Jayadāman. *Ed.*
2. E. I., xvi. pp. 233-241.
3. C. I. C., p. cxxxvii.

had Paiṭhaṇ as his western capital and Dhānyakaṭaka (Dhañakaḍa) on the lower Kṛiṣṇā as his eastern capital. Evidently the Āndhra power was gravitating to the east-coast districts. Ābhīras, Mahābhojakas, Mahārathis, Cutu-Nāgas and junior branches of the Śātakarṇi family began to rule in the western provinces. Yajña Śrī was the only one of the later Āndhras worth noting. He recovered power in the west, where his coins are found. He built the beautiful monastery of Amarāvatī, now entirely ruined. But from his death the Āndhra power steadily declined, and died early in the III century, when Dhānyakaṭaka passed into the hands of the Pallava Rājās of Kāñcī, from that of Pulumāyi, or Pulomāvi, the last of the Āndhra Rājās (*c.* 225 A.D.)

The *Purāṇas* say that when the kingdom of the Āndhras came to an end Ābhīras, Gardhabhins, Śakas, *Yavanas*, Tuṣāras, Muruṇḍas, Maunas and Kilakilas enjoyed the earth. Besides these the Nāgas, the Bāhlikas, the Paṭumitras, the Puṣyamitras, Mahisis, the Meghas, the Niṣadhas, the Kaivarttas, the Pañcakas, and the Pulindas are also mentioned as ruling.[1] India north of the Kṛṣṇā was parcelled out into tiny bits of independent districts.

Of these the Muruṇḍas ruled at Pātaliputra. Probably one of them was the person described by the Purāṇas as the "very valiant Viśvaphāṇi. Overthrowing all kings......Viśvaphāṇi, the magnificent (will be) mighty, Viṣṇu's peer in battle. King Viśvaphāṇi is called eunuch like in appearance. Overthrowing the Kṣatriya caste he will create another Kṣatriya caste. After gratifying the gods, the *pitṛs* and Brāhmaṇas once (and) again, he will resort to the bank of Ganges and subdue his body; after resigning his body he will go to Indra's world."[2] It is said

1. D. K. A., pp. 46-53.
2. D. K. A., p. 73.

that the king of Funan, an early Indian colony in Indo-China, sent an ambassador to India, *c.* 240 A.D. The king of India sent in return an ambassador with a present of four horses. A Chinaman met this ambassador and learnt from him that it was "a country where the law of Buddha prospers. The people there are straightforward and the land is very fertile. The title of the king is Meou-loun, [i.e. the Muruṇḍa who was the king of Paṭaliputra in the latter half of the III century A.D.] The capital has a double enclosure of ramparts. Streams and sources of water-supply are divided into a large number of winding canals which flow into the ditches under the walls (of the city) and thence into a great stream. [This again is a confused description of the moats round Pāṭaliputra] The palaces and temples are adorned with sculptured and engraved decorations. In the streets, the markets, the villages, the houses, the inns and in towns one sees bells and tambours of joyous sound, rich dresses and fragrant flowers. The merchants come there by land and sea and assemble in great numbers and offer for sale jewels and all objects of luxury which the heart can desire"[1]. The Muruṇḍa kings were thirteen in number. They reigned, "along with low-caste men, (all) of *mleccha* origin."[2]

The Kings of Vidiśa, according to the Purāṇas were "Bhogī, son of the Nāga king Śeṣa........[He] was the conqueror of his enemies' cities,............[one who exalted] the Nāga family."[3] His successors were Sadācandra, Candrāmśa, Nakhavān, Dhanadharmā, Vairgara and Bhūtinanda.

Next in importance were the Ābhīras who ruled in Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ. An Ābhīra general of the *Mahākṣatrapas* of Mālwā has already been mentioned.

1. I. C. I. C., pp. 17-18.
2. D. K. A., p. 72.
3. D. K. A., p. 72.

The first Ābhīra king was Māḍharīputra Iśvarasena in whose reign Viṣṇudattā, a *Śakāni* (śaka lady) made an endowment of money to provide medicines for the sick among the monks of any sect residing on mount Triraśmi[1]. This Iśvarasena is probably the same as the Iśvaradatta of the coins found in Mālwā, Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ who reigned between 236 and 239 A.D.[2] He seems to have been an invader who assumed the titles of *Rājā* and *Kṣatrapa*. He "probably came by sea from Sindh, conquered the West coast, and made Trikūṭa its capital. He probably attacked, and gained a victory over the Kṣatrapas. When he had consolidated his power, he began to issue his own coins, copying the Kṣatrapa coins of the district........Iśvaradatta's conquest [took place at the same time as]........the foundation of the Kalacuri era, of which the first current year was A. D. 249-50. And we may thus conclude that Iśvaradatta was the founder of an era, which was first known as the Traikūṭaka era, and in later times came to be called the Kalacuri or Cedi era."[3] The beginning of this era has since been accurately fixed as 5th September A. D. 248.[4] They ruled for 67 years, when the *Mahākṣatrapas* of Mālwā drove them into Central India.

The Ābhīras, like (some of) the Pallavas of Kāñcī, after the extinction of their rule, formed or merged into the local castes of cowherds and thieves, and took to a predatory life; they are not quite extinct even in the present day.

A minor branch of the Śātakarṇi family, born from its alliance with the Cūṭu-nāgas, ruled at Banavāsi (Vaija-

1. E. I., viii., p. 88. Triraśmi is also known as Tiraṇhu. *Ed.*
2. C. I. C., p. cxxxvi.
3. D. K. D., p. 294.
4. E. I., ix, p. 129.

yantī). One of the kings of this dynasty was *Rāja* Hāritī-putta Viṇhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakaṇṇi. In a pillar inscription of his at Malavalli (in Mysore) it is said that a Brāhmaṇa gave some gift to the God there and the king issued some order regarding the gift to the official (*raj-juka*) Mahāvallabha.[1] Another inscription of the same reign concerns the gift of a *nāga*, a tank (*taḍāga*) and a *vihāra* by the daughter of a *mahārāja*.[2] This inscription is carved "on the two edges of a large slab, bearing the representation of a five-hooded cobra".[3] The son of the person who made this endowment was Śiva Skanda Nāga (Sivakhadavamman Hāritīputta); he calls himself the Lord of Vaijayantī and *Rāja* of the Kadambas, i.e., probably the Kadamba tribe who lived in the region round Banavāsi. His pillar-inscription records the renewal of the grant of thirteen villages to a Brāhmaṇa.[4] The "renewal" probably indicates that Śiva Skanda Nāga had conquered the country from the Śātakarṇis.

The Pallava *Rājas* of Kāñcīpura represent the southernmost overflow of Pahlava power in India.[5] When the Pahlavas reached Kāñcīpura there is no means of ascertaining; but we learn from the *Mahāvamsa* that when Duṭṭhagāmaṇi of Ceylon dedicated a Bauddha *stūpa* at Anurādhapura in 157 B. C., the wise Mahādeva attended the ceremony from the monastery of Pallavabhogga with 460,000 *Bhikkus*. This Pallavabhogga must have been the Kāñcīpura district. The Pallavas who ruled here in pre-Christian times were probably feudatories of

1. E. I., x, App. no. 1195.
2. *Ib.* no. 1186.
3. I. A., xiv, p. 331.
4. E. I., x, App. no. 1196.
5. This identification of the Pallavas with the Pahlavas rests upon the mere doubtful ground of a possibility. For a discussion of the various theories about the origin of the Pallavas, see H. P. K., ch. II. *Ed.*

the Āndhras, for Pulumāyi's coins have been found in these parts. One of these Pallava chiefs of Kāñcī married the daughter of a Nāga King (possibly Śiva Skanda Nāga, a powerful King of Kuntala), and "acquired all the emblems of royalty" according to the Vēlūrpaḷayam Pallava copperplates of the VIII century A.D. That means he became an independent monarch; this person was probably Bappadeva, father of the donor of the earliest Pallava copperplates yet found, those of Mayidavōlu and Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi. Bappadeva made donations to Brāhmaṇas of a hundred thousand ox-ploughs and many millions of gold coin. In return for this munificence they declared him to be a Kṣatriya of the Bhāradvāja *Gotra*. Bappadeva inherited Kāñcī from his ancestors, for if he had acquired it by conquest, his son would have mentioned it in his eulogy of his father. His son Śivạ Skanda Varmā, when he was *Yuvarāja*, conquered the diminished Āndhra territory, which consisted of Sātakaṇiraṭṭa (Cuddapah and Bellary districts) and the Dhānyakaṭakaraṭṭa (Nellore and Guntūr districts) and made Dhānyakaṭaka a second capital (c. 250 A.D.) After his death Pallava power weakened. Bṛhatphalāyanas and Ikṣvākus ruled over the East Coast districts. This early Pallava dynasty was driven north of Kāñcī (*c.* 375 A.D.)

Tamil princes of the Cōḷa, Cēra and Pāṇḍiya dynasties ruled over the rest of Tamil India. Though in this age Tamil trade with Rome reached immense proportions, Tamil rulers had political relations with the great Roman Empire and innumerable Tamil odes dealing with war and love were sung, no Tamil *Rājā*, of such outstanding personality as to be mentioned in poems, seems to have ruled. Neither the author of the *Periplus*, nor Pliny, nor again Ptolemy, though they describe the Tamil country fully, mentions the name of a Tamil king of the period. The general impression left on our minds from Ptolemy's

account of the Tamil country is that the kings of that country were all of equal power and that they did not indulge in wars of conquest. Moreover though he speaks of kingdoms in North India and also of some kings south of the Vindhyas, he mentions only Tamil tribes and this showś that the power of the Tamil *Rājās* was not consolidated, notwithstanding the vast increase of wealth on account of Roman trade This impression is confirmed by a study of the few poems of the period that have survived. These poems indicate a peaceful life which the Tamils and their kings and chiefs enjoyed.

The earliest monuments of this epoch are the caves at the Nānāghāṭ pass leading to the west coast and those on the Udayagiri hills near the east coast. In the Nānāghāṭ caves figures are carved on the front wall and the following names are carved over them:— Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhano, Dēvī Nāyanikāyā rāñño ca Siri Sātakanino (Queen Nāganikā and King Śri Śātakarṇi), Kumāro Bhāyā, Maharaṭhi Tranakayiro, Kumāro Haku Siri, Kumāro Sātavāhano. Kṛṣṇa, who was the brother of Śimuka and ruled between him and Śātakarṇi is not represented in the group. There is besides an inscription in Prākrit which records, after an invocation of *Dhamma*, Idā (Indra), Saṅkamsaṇa (Saṅkarṣaṇa) and Vāsudeva, the descendants of Canda (Candra, i.e., of the lunar dynasty), the four *lokapālas*, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Vāsava, the fees (*dakṣinā*) given at various sacrifices, by the......daughter of the Mahāraṭhi Kaḷalāya, the scion of the Aṅgiya family, the wife of........Siri, the mother of the prince (*kumāra*) Vedisiri, (the son) of a king who is called the lord (*pati*) of Dakhi (nāpatha) and mother of Sati Sirimata (Śakti Śrīmat). As Śakti Śrī is the same as Haku Siri, the inscription may be one of Nāyanikāyā, and the Vedic sacrifices were those of Śrī Śātakarṇi. The inscription records, "the fees paid to the officiating priests

—fees which testify eloquently to the wealth of the realm and to the power of the Brāhman hierarchy at this date—tens of thousands of cows, thousands of horses, numbers of elephants, whole villages, and huge sums of money (tens of thousands of *Kārṣāpaṇas*)".[1] Apparently complimentary exaggeration in the case of royal bounties had already begun. The Nānāghāṭ cave was the first cave where so far as we know a *Yajña* was performed, the *Yajñaśālas* previous to this age having been all woodbuilt. Other monuments of the early Āndhra age were a cave (*lēṇa*) caused to be made by the *Mahāmātra* of *Rājā* Kaṇha Sādavāhana[2] in charge of the *samaṇas* (*śramaṇas*) at Nāsik. As this cave was dug not long after Aśoka's death, we have to infer that his arrangements for the supervision of *Dharma* were not yet dead. A *Caitya-gṛha* or temple for Bauddha asceties in imitation of the temples for the Āgama Gods, but with a *Stūpa* in place of a *Vigraha* (idol) was caused 'to be perfected' on Mount Tiraṇhu by Bhaṭṭapālikā, grand-daughter of Mahā Haku Siri.

The Udayagiri hills near Cuttack contain several caves provided for Jaina ascetics. The inscriptions were cut to preserve the memory of the benefactors to the Kāliga (Kāliṅga) *samaṇas* (Jaina monks) in honour of the Arahantas (*arhats*), by Khāravela, his chief-queen (*agamahiṣi*), prince Vaḍhuka, and others, one of whom was the town-judge (*nagarakhadamsa*). The only long inscription in these is the much-damaged Hāthigumphā inscription recounting Khāravela's deeds till the 13th year of his reign.

The administration of the Śaka-Pahlava dominions was, it is held by some, conducted by means of the Persian system of Satrapies, merely because some of

1. C. H. I., I—p. 530.
2. *i.e.* Kṛṣṇa of the Sātavāhana family. *Ed.*

these monarchs called themselves *Kṣatrapas*; but so far as the inscriptions tell us, they became Indians and adopted the Indian methods of government. They, however, combined great military prowess and vigour with a capacity for organization for government. Like the *Yavanas* whom they superseded they struck a large variety of coins. They also struck coins like those of the Indian *Rājās* whose dominions they succeeded to, and like them gave donations to religious orders. Pātika deposited a relic of Sākamuni (Gautama) and erected a *Saṅghārāma* at Cēma N. E. of Takṣasilā. The chief queen of Rājūla and others have left in Mathurā Bauddha, Jaina, and Vaiṣṇava monuments belonging to the 'famous school of Mathurā Art'. One of these is an inscription by a Brāhmaṇa of the Śēgrava *Gotra*, a treasurer of Śoḍāsa, who donated a tank (*puṣkaraṇī*), a reservoir (*udapāna*), a grove (*ārāma*) and a pillar (*stambha*). The word for 'treasurer' used in this inscription is *gañjavara*, borrowed by Sanskrit from the Persian *ganjwar*. When Kaniṣka supplanted the Pahlavas in Mathurā, he built monuments in the Mathurā style of art as modified by Greek art.

The organization of workers into gilds and the use of gilds as deposit banks and other matters of interest are referred to in the cave inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law, Uṣavadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta) and others at Nāsik and Kārli, and his minister, Ayama at Junār. In these inscriptions Nahapāna is called *Mahākṣatrapa*, showing that this word was synonymous with *Rājā*. Ṛṣabhadatta is an Indian name and this name and the name Aspavarmā of one of the Pahlava commander-in-chiefs shows that foreign princes were not only Indianized in religion and in name, but were admitted to the ranks of Kṣatriyas. Uṣavadāta gave three *lacs* of cows and money to Brāhmaṇas on the banks of the Bārṇāsā, 16 villages to the Āgama Gods enshrined in temples and

to Brāhmaṇas, fed one *lac* of Brāhmaṇas all the year round, gave eight wives to Brāhmaṇas at the *tirtha* of Prabhāsa (i.e., paid the cost of marriage to 8 Brāhmaṇa *Brahmacāris*), built quadrangular rest-houses in various places, made wells and tanks and gardens, established free ferries or boats across six streams between Ṭhāṇā and Surat, erected shelters for meeting places on river banks (where Brāhmaṇas could perform religious-offices after bathing), arranged for the gratuitous distribution of water to thirsty travellers, gave 32,000 stems of cocoanut trees to Brāhmaṇa ascetics of the Caraka denomination in various places for building huts, made a cave (*lēṇa*) and cisterns (*poḍhiya*) in the Triraśmi hills in Govardhana and after bathing in the Poṣkara tank gave away 3,000 cows and a village He also gave a field costing 4,000 *Kāhāpaṇas*[1] for feeding all monks, without distinction, living in his cave. This cave was bestowed on the *Saṅgha* 'of any sect and any origin'. Uṣavadāta made besides an endowment of 3,000 *Kāhāpaṇas* 'for cloth-money and money for outside life (*kusaṇa*[2])' for ascetics. This amount was invested as follows:— 2,000 in weavers' gild (*śreṇi kōlikanikāya*) with interest one *paḍika* monthly for the hundred, and 1,000 in another weavers' gild, interest three-quarters of a *paḍīka* monthly for the hundred, these *Kāhāpaṇas* not to be repaid and their interest only to be enjoyed. From the interest from the former endowment, twelve *Kāhāpaṇas* for cloth-money was to be paid to every one of the twenty monks who kept *vassa* in the cave and out of the latter, money for *Kusaṇa* was to be paid. Uṣavadāta gave another gift of 8,000 stems of cocoanut trees; and endowed the blessed Gods (*bhagavatam devanam*) and Brāhmaṇas 70,000 *Kāhā-*

1. *i.e.* Kārṣāpaṇas. *Ed.*
2. For another interpretation of the term, see C. I. C., p. lviii, *Ed.*

paṇas, each 35 making a *Suvarṇa*, a capital therefore of 2,000 *Suvarṇas;* the gifts were, according to custom, proclaimed in the Town Hall (*Nigama sabhā*), and registered in the Public Records office (*Nibhadha phalakavara*.) From these inscriptions we learn that gilds served as banks, which changes of governments could not disturb and that the Śaka-Pahlavas adopted the Indian polity coming down from ancient times.

Other Nāsik inscriptions tell us that when the Ābhīras succeeded to the rule of the district of Govardhana, Viṣṇudattā, a Śaka lady (*sakāni*) and a Jaina lay disciple (*śrāvikā*) deposited 1,000 *Kārṣāpaṇas* with the gild of *Kulairikas* (potters?), 2,000 with that of *Odayantrikās*, (makers of hydraulic engines?), 500 with another gild and some other amount with the gild of oil-millers (*tilapiṣaka śreṇi*), to provide medicines and other comforts for the sick of the *saṅgha* of monks from all sides (lit., coming from the four directions, *catudisasa*) dwelling in the monastery (*vihāra*) on Mount Triraśmi. This monastery contained not less than 16 cells. Caves were dug for the *Bhikkhusaṅgha*, associations of monks, generally, and endowments were made for special purposes, such as the present of cloth-money to each monk "who keeps *vassa* in the caves." Besides these, Indrāgnidatta, a *Yavana*, in memory of his mother and father (*mātāpitaro udisa*) and inspired by *Dharma* (*dharmātmanā*), excavated a cave for monks and inside the cave a *Caityagṛha* and four cisterns for the worship of all the Buddhas. Besides individuals, all the inhabitants of a village joined together and made gifts; thus the villagers of Nāsik living in Dhambhika caused an ornate arcade to be made over the door of a cave. Another joint-gift was a rail pattern and the figure of a Yakṣa carved on the wall of a cave at Nāsik. At Kārli besides Uṣavadāta's gifts, a *seṭṭhi* of Vaījayantī (Banavāsi) made a Caitya-cave, (*selāghara*)

for worship; a Mahāraṭhi placed a lion-pillar (*siṃhastaṃbha*) in front of it. A Śaka 'writer' (*lekhaka*) donated a cave and two cisterns, out of which one with a small opening was in memory of his mother and father. A Vaiśya householder (*gahapati*) of the name of Vīra, his wife Nandasiri and his daughter Purisadattā, together, gifted monks with a cave of four cells; a fisherman (*dāśaka*), Mugūdāsa, gave another cave and Dhammanandī, son of an *upāsaka*, endowed a field for providing clothes to the ascetics living there. A few more typical gifts of this age were elephants with rail-mouldings gifted by a *sthavira*, a door by a perfumer (*gandhika*) from Dhēnukākaṭa, a pillar of the verandah in front of the central door by Bhāyilā, a carved door by a carpenter, other pillars by *Yavanas*, by preachers (*bhāṇakasa*), and images by *bhikkus*[1].

A further insight into the administration of the country can be derived from the inscription of Rudradāmā's time regarding the repairs of the Sudarśana lake at Junāgaḍh[2]. The king's chief function continued to be the protection of 'towns, marts and rural parts' (*nagara nigama janapada*) from robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases, etc., He acted according to his vow of not slaying men except in battles, and dealt blows to equal antagonists who met him face to face. He was a master of grammar, politics, music, logic, etc., (*śabdārtha gāndharva nyāyādi*), as also the management of horses, elephants and chariots, the use of the sword and shield and pugilistic combats, and military tactics (*parabala lāghava sauṣṭhavakriyā*). His prose and verse were clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper

1. For the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta, see E. I., viii, pp. 78-88, and for other inscriptions, see *Ib.*, pp. 88-93, 75-77; and *Ib.* vii, pp. 51-53. *Ed.*

2. See *Ib.*, viii, pp. 36-49. *Ed.*

use of words and ornate. He did not oppress the inhabitants of the town and country (*paura jānapadam janam*) by taxes (*kara*), forced labour (*viṣṭi*) and benevolences (*praṇaya kriyā*, acts of affection ?). His treasury overflowed with an accumulation of gold, silver, diamonds, beryls, and (other) gems, derived from tribute (*bali*), tolls (*śulka*) and shares of produce (*bhāga*) rightfully obtained. Great works of engineering were undertaken by the state and paid for from the royal treasury. As the chief ministers (*amātyas*) of the two classes viz., counsellors (*mati-saciva*) and executive officers (*karmasaciva*) were averse to undertake the repairs of the lake (*taṭāka*) of Sudarśana because the damages were extensive, the *amātya*, a Pahlava named Suviśākha, was moved by the lamentations of the people to execute it. From this we see that the Mauryan polity as described in the *Artha Śāstra* continued unimpaired under the Pahlavas. Rudradāmā uses Sanskrit in this inscription ; it is not possible to say whether it was a case of *plus royaliste que le roi*, a foreign prince being more orthodox in language than native princes, for the later Āndhra *Rājās* continued to use Prākrit in their inscriptions. In this inscription can be noticed the first instance af the conventional attribution of sovereignty over a greater number of provinces than those over which the king actually ruled, which became a salient feature of the description of kings in all epigraphs just as English coins of the Tudors, Stuarts and early Hanoverians declared them to be kings of France where they possessed not an inch of French soil. Much false history has been evolved from a literal understanding of epigraphical convention.

The administration in the Āndhra dominions may be inferred from the Nāsik and Kārli inscriptions of Gotamīputa Siri Sādakaṇi[1]. In the 18th year of his reign on

1. *ie*. Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi. *Ed.*

the first day (*divasa*) of the second fortnight (*pakha*) of the rainy season (*vasa*) from the camp of victory (*vijaya-kha*(*n*)*dāvārā*) of the Vejayanti army, Gotamīputo, Lord of Benākaṭaka, informed the *amaca* (officer) of Govadhana[1] that he had granted a field of 200 *nivartanas* (*nivartana* = 200 cubits square) to some ascetics with immunity from the entry of royal officers, from being dug for salt (which was a government monopoly) and from being disturbed by the district police (*raṭha vinayika*) and all other immunities (*parihāra*) and ordered the grant to be registered[2]. In another Nāsik grant he gifted 100 *nivartanas* from crown lands (*rājakam khēta*), not then tilled, with all immunities to the mendicant ascetics living in a cave on Mount Tiraṇhu already given to them by the king and ordered the *amaca* to register it[3]. In the 2nd year of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri Pulumāyi a husbandman (*kuṭumbika*) caused a cave to be made at Nāsik. In his 7th year a Mahāraṭhi gave away to the *sa*(*ṅ*)*gha* of Valūra (Kārli) residing in the cave of that place a village with its revenues[4]. Pulumāyi's grandmother, Goutamī Balaśrī granted a cave on the top of Tiraṇhu hill near Nāsik to a *bhikkhu saṅgha* and in his 19th year Pulumāyi, for embellishing the cave and pleasing his grandmother, gave a village, making over the merit of the gift to his father. In this inscription[5] occurs a description of Gautamīputra in terms of hyperbolic praise, many times worse than that in the Junāgaḍh inscription. He was as strong as the Himavata-Meru mountains, king of nine provinces named, lord of eleven mountains, also named, and obeyed by all earthly

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1. *i.e.* Govardhana (Nāsik Dist.). *Ed.*
2. See E. I., viii, p. 71 ff. *Ed.*
3. See *Ib.*, viii, p. 73 ff. *Ed.*
4. See *Ib.*, vii, p. 61 ff. *Ed.*
5. See *Ib.*, viii, p. 60-65. *Ed.*

kings. Then follows a flattering description of his beauty and virtues. He defeated the *Śaka-Yavana-Palhavas.* He rooted out the Khaharātas (which is the one fact in the inscription.) Again follows another extravagant praise. Some scholars have not realized that all this was conventional meaningless praise and have attempted to derive history from it. This kind of praise, once started, was kept up in all succeeding ages. In the 22nd year of his reign Vāsiṭhiputra Pulumāyi, lord of Navana(ga)ra, gave a village to the *Bhikkus* of the same *saṅgha* a village in Govardhana district (*āhāra*) in exchange for a gift made to them by the *samaṇas* of Dhanamkata (?), who dwelt on the mount Tiraṇhu[1].

Craft-gilds (*śreṇis*) regulated the work of crafts-men and looked after their interests. In the Āndhra inscriptions we hear of at least seven of them (there must have been many more), namely those of oil-millers, makers of hydraulic engines, potters, weavers, bamboo-workers (*vamśakaras*), corn-dealers (*dhamañika*)and braziers(*kāsākāra*). They acted as banks of deposit where even permanent endowments (*akṣaya nīvi*) could be invested; for the gilds were more permanent than governments. The head of a gild was a *seṭṭhi* (*śreṣṭhī*). The *seṭṭhis* were important personages who took part in the government of the town. Other professions were those of the writer, the physician, the ploughman (*hālakiya*), the goldsmith (*hiraṇyika*), the perfumer, the carpenter (*vaḍḍhaki*), the gardener (*mālākara*), the fisherman, (*dāśaka*), ironmonger (*lohavāṇiya*), blacksmith (*lohakārika*), caravan-leader (*sārthavāhi*), stage-dancer (*raṅgā-narta*) and actors (*śailālaka*).

The inscriptions of the Pallavas of Kāñcī show that the king was assisted in his government by ministers

1. See E. I., viii, pp. 65-71. Tiraṇhu is an irregular Prākṛit form of Triraśmi. *Ed*,

(*amaca*) and privy councillors (*rahasādhikata*) and his throne was surrounded by royal princes (*rājakumāra*). The country was divided into provinces (*viṣaya*) administered by lords (*viṣayeśa*) and sub-divided into districts (*raṭṭhā*). They had custom-houses (*maṇḍapa*) with custom officers and 'spies' (*sañcarantaka*). They had a forest department with a staff of foresters (*gūmika*). They had superintendents of *tīrthas* (*tūthikas*). The owner of lands had to pay in kind, besides the regular taxes, eighteen minor dues, like milk, curds, grass, firewood, vegetables and flowers. They had to supply oxen in succession for the cultivation of crown lands. The villages had to keep roads and irrigation-canals near the villages by employing labourers who were fed from village funds (*veṭṭhi*). Salt and sugar were royal monopolies and government officers could enter private lands for digging for salt. The king maintained an army, commanded by generals; and grants of land were made by the king to Brāhmaṇas for the increase of the merit, longevity, and the good name of the royal family and race. Such lands were exempted from the payment of major and minor taxes. The labourers were transferred with the lands to the new owners, and got half the produce of the lands. In the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi grant, garden land was gifted to twenty Brāhmaṇa families, possibly the families of those who acted as priests in the *Agniṣṭhoma*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices which Śiva Skanda performed in the 8th year of his reign when the donations were made. The produce of the land was divided among the families in thirty-four shares, ranging from one share to four per family. Besides the land was given a threshing-floor and a site for an *agrahāram*, i.e., a series of houses for Brāhmaṇas. The grant was composed by a Brāhmaṇa privy councillor in his own handwriting, then incised on copper-plate, seen by the king and handed

over to the grantees with libations of water. Brāhmaṇas of the Ātreya, Hārita, Bhāradvāja, Kauśika and Vātsya *gotras* lived in the *agrahāram* with a chief (*pamukha*) of their own. The Pallava rulers of Kāñcī were Śaivas, Śiva's bull and his club (*khatvāṅga*) being their special emblems. But fanaticism was unknown in those days. So one of the queens of a Yuvamahārāja, a century later, called Cārudēvī endowed the God Nārāyaṇa of the Kūli Mahātāraka temple at Dālūra, a village under the officials of Kaṭaka, a field on the northern side of the drinking well below the king's tank (*rājataḍāka*) containing four *nivartanas* of land, free from all dues[1]. This is the first reference in an inscription or otherwise to a temple of an Āgama God in the Tamil country.

The state-religion, except perhaps in the districts ruled over by foreign princes who had not been invested with the status of Kṣatriyas, was still the ancient Vedic religion. Śrī Śātakarṇi, Puṣyamitra, and Śiva Skanda Varmā performed the great Vedic *yajñas* to celebrate their conquests. In the Nāsik cave inscription which refers to the *Yajñas* of Śātakarṇi, besides the Vedic Gods, Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa (the first two manifestations of Nārāyaṇa according to the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas) are invoked. This shows that the early Āndhra kings were *Bhāgavatas* (Vaiṣṇavas). We may also infer from the juxtaposition of the *Vaidika* and *Āgamika* Gods in the invocation that the two cults had coalesced completely in the II century B.C., that the Āgama cults had gained sanctity by their supposed derivation from the Vedas, and that modern Hinduism was born before that date. Foreign princes who had not been thoroughly Hinduized adopted the worship of the Āgama Gods, Śiva or Viṣṇu, but did not enjoy the benefit of the *Vaidika* rites. Thus Gudaphara

1. See E. I., viii, pp. 143-146. *Ed.*

was a devotee of Śiva and Heliodorus, envoy of Antialcidās at the court of Bhāgabhadra Śuṅga of Vidiśa was a *Bhāgavata* (Vaiṣṇava) and erected at Besnagar a *Garuḍa stambha*, probably in front of a timber-built Vāsudeva temple, since perished. Others like Menander came in touch with Bauddha monks, and provided them with residences and built *stūpas* in honour of the Buddhas. Yet others became patrons of Jaina ascetics. Bauddha monks and nuns swarmed in the land, and the greater part of the rock monuments—*caitya gṛhas*(temples) and *lēṇas* (caves)—were cut for the use of Bauddha monks, for, unlike the ascetics of other denominations, they lived together in communities and required permanent habitations. These caves were called *lēṇas* (*layanas*, sleeping places) because the monks wandered in the day-time begging their daily food, and retired to their dwelling at night. Besides rock-cut caves, brick and timber *vihāras* (hermitages) and *saṅghārāmas* (colleges of monks) must have been built in large numbers, but they have all perished. It is wrong to conclude that the laymen who built these monuments for the Bauddha ascetics were 'Buddhists' in any sense. Sanyāsīs, whatever their dinomination, were and are respected by Hindus of all sects; from this no inference can be reached about their beliefs; thus Goutamī, who lived according to the ideal of a royal Ṛṣi's wife (*rajarisivadhu*) and was the mother of the Śātakarṇi 'who put a stop to the mixture of the four castes' (*viniva-ita cātuvaṇa sakara*) and was so pious as to be called 'the unique Brāhmaṇa' (*ekabamhaṇa*), presented a cave to a sect of Bauddha ascetics; Bhāyilā, a Brāhmaṇī, built a *caitya-gṛha* for Bauddha monks to worship in, and was not less of a Brāhmaṇī on that account; her husband Ayitilu was an *Upāsaka* i.e., honoured (in Indian parlance, worshipped) Bauddha *bhikkus* and listened to their sermons, but yet remained a Brāhmaṇa. The bulk of the people were all

worshippers of Śiva or Viṣṇu; for the custom of taking on one or other of the many names of the two Gods had commenced and we find the donors of gifts to monks 'of whatever denomination' are Gopāla, Viṣṇudatta, Viṣṇupālita, Bhūtapāla, Śivabhūti, Bhavagopa, Ṛṣabhadatta, etc. Some were named after Skanda e.g., Skandagupta, Śivakandila; names formed from Nāga, Sarpa, Sarpila indicate that, Nāga names were also used, as they are today, though the exclusive worship of Nāgas is dead. The domestic rites were the old *Vaidika* ones or at least as many of them as survived the lapse of time and the changing conditions of life, in the houses of Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas (the latter two dwindling in numbers); and in those of rapidly increasing number of 'mixed castes', the *Paurāṇika* rites, (a mixture of imitation *Vaidika* rites and ancient Dasyu practices), of which the Brāhmaṇas were yet the priests, The small number of those entitled to take part in the *Vaidika* rites and to study the Vedas viz., Brāhamaṇas, and Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, of uncontaminated blood, and the great increase in the number of 'mixed castes', consisting of the progeny of intercaste marriages, legitimate and otherwise, and of Hinduized foreigners necessitated the revision of the Purāṇas and the inclusion in them for the benefit 'of women and Śudras', of the exoteric parts of Āgama teaching, such as the stories of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu and the human appearances of Śiva, accounts of past ages and stories of Heavens and Hells, as also portions of the *Dharma Śāstra*, applicable to the common people and geographical information both correct and fanciful, as well as the historical legends and succession lists of kings brought up to date and professing to be prophecies.

The fission of the Jainas, which started about 300 B.C. became fully developed *c.* 82 A.D. and the *Digambara* and *Svetāmbara* communities became definitely

separated, with sub-sects of their own. Mathurā inscriptions in a mixed dialect dated in the era of Devaputra (also called Sāhi) Kaniṣka mention several *gaṇas, kulas* and *Śākhās* of Jainas, for instance, the *Puṣyamitriya kula* and *Vajanāgari* (*Varjanāgari*, of Vrjinagara) *Śākhā* of the *Varaṇa gaṇa*, the *Brahmadāsika kula* of the *Koṭṭiya gaṇa*. These inscriptions also mention the activities of several female ascetics, *śiśinīs* (disciples) of monks. Gifts by, *śrāvakas* and *Śrāvikās* also occur. Thus the organization of the Jaina church as consisting of the four *tīrthas* (orders), *sādhu, sādhvī, ṣrāvaka* and *śrāvikā*, was complete by this time, and this is further proved by the occurrence of the expression *cātur varṇa saṅgha*, corresponding to the later *Svetāmbara* term, *caturvidha saṅgha*. Jainas had before this time moved from Magadha to Mathurā, Ujjayinī and the western part of India generally where they have retained their settlements to this day. They borrowed from the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas the idea of temple-worship and installed in their shrines images of Mahāvira *tīrthaṅkara* and his predecessors. In rivalry to the Āgama myths they evolved myths of their own gods and *tīrthaṅkaras* and legends of vast periods of time, vaster than the *kalpas* and *yugas* of the Purāṇas. As Jaina Sanyāsīs practised exaggerated asceticism, their legends, too, are more hyperbolical than those of the *Paurāṇikas*. But yet in their domestic rites the priestly ministrations of Brāhmaṇas were never given up and continue even to-day.

Sectarian cleavage among the Bauddha monks began almost from the death of the *Śākyamuni*. There were eighteen sects among them in the III century B.C. One of the *Vibhjavādis* drew up the Pāli Canon, regarded as orthodox in Ceylon where it assumed its present form in 45 B.C. The other sects composed their canons in Sanskrit and Prākrit, most of which are lost. The dis-

sentions came to a head a little after 100 A.D., when a council was held at Jālandhara in Kāśmīr and a wide schism occured between the Bauddhas of the South (Ceylon) and those of the North (India). The canon of the south was called the *Hīnayāna*, the Little Vehicle, and that prevailing in India, the *Mahāyāna*, the Great Vehicle. The former recognizes the Vedic Devas who were worshipped in India when Gautama lived and who (after the rise of the Vedānta) were regarded as inferior to *Mukta*, men who had reached liberation; so, too, the Bauddhas regarded the Devas as being inferior to Buddha, the emancipated. It also includes, the worship of Buddha who had become a God by this time, besides indigenous Ceylonese rites. The latter obsorbed the Gods who came to prominence since Buddha's time, gave them new Sanskrit names, invented other new gods and adopted magical rites (*tantras*), which were practiced by the ascetics of the *Śaiva* and *Śākta* Āgamas. They adopted doctrines similar to the Āgama ones and schemes of different spheres of Beings (*loka*, *bhuvana*) and gave names of their own to them. Thus the supreme God was named *Ādi Buddha* and *Svarga* became *Sukhāvatī*. From the *Ādi Buddha*, the *Dhyāni Buddhas*, Buddhas of contemplation, who live in heaven, were evolved. They are Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddha, each having a Śakti (female energy of his own). They introduced the concept of *Bodhisattvas*, or 'predestined Buddhas designate'; the Dhyāni Buddhas and Bodhisattvas incarnate themselves as *Manuṣī Buddhas*. They evolved the metaphysical doctrine of the void (*Śūnyavāda*) and adopted the practices of *Bhakti*[1], as well as of the *Tāntrikas*. According to the orthodox ideas, the Vedānta and *yoga* training were open only to Sanyāsīs and *sanyāsa* was open to Brāhmaṇas, and even to

1. G N. B., pp.xxvi-xxvii.

them only when the call to asceticism came from within; for the life of the Sanyāsī meant accelerated character-development and getting into mystical touch with the Devas, i.e. nature-powers which are represented in the individual mind which is a microcosmic replica of the objective universe. Such intense mental training only one who has renounced the world could stand. The *sanyāsa* of the cults of the Āgama schools (including the Bauddha and the Jaina) was thrown open to the members of all *varṇas*, but accepted the same methods of mental training as the former; the Śaiva, the Śākta and in later times the Bauddha substituted methods of coming in touch with Devīs, who represented the energies manifested in the physical and mental worlds. Buddha himself insisted more on character development than on *yogic* exercises; but as time passed, the more learned of Buddhists replaced character-development by subtle metaphysical speculations, especially when Brāhmaṇas took Buddhist holy orders, and the more mystical among Buddha's followers gravitated towards the *Tāntrika* rites of the Śāktas, till from the IV century A. D., onwards the dividing line between the Bauddha and the Śākta cults became imperceptible, and Fa Hsien and Yuan Chwang saw Buddhists wherever they saw *Tāntrikas*. The *Mahayānā* now flourishes in China, Tibet and Japan and the *Hīnayāna* in Ceylon and Burma. Though the cult of Gautama spread to foreign countries the seeds of decay in the land of its birth had been sown. The ascetic vows taken by all and sundry and of both sexes, unprepared like the Brāhmaṇa Sanyāsī by a previous life of disciplinary preparation for renunciation, or uncontrolled, like the Jaina Śanyāsī by the practice of severe austerities during the ascetic career, and not possessed of hard intellectual occupation like the few scholars among the Bauddha monks, and the opportunities for going

astray when monks and nuns lived near each other and were fed and clothed without having to work for it produced their usual results. This was the real cause of the decay of Bauddha cults in India and not the supposed organization of Brāhmaṇa reaction by Cāṇakya in the IV century B.C., or persecution by Puṣyamitra in the II Century B.C. or neglect by the Guptas in the IV and late centuries A.D.

Religion in the Tamil Country continued as it was in the previous ages. Stray Brāhmaṇa families from Kāñcīpura migrated to it but they were outside the life of the bulk of the Tamils. Brāhmaṇa ascetics, notably of the Āgastya clan on the Podiyil hill adopted Tamil as their language and made contributions to Tamil literature but did not affect the lives of the Tamil people. Buddha ascetic communities (*Saṅghas*) and Jaina Sanyāsīs lived and died in the caves of the Pāṇḍiya country but the Tamil people fought shy of them. Cape Comorin became a place of pilgrimage (for bathing in the sea), because Kumārī is waiting there making *tapas* for getting Śiva as her Lord, but the bulk of the Tamil people were not yet influenced by Āryan legends or rites and continued to worship their regional Gods as well as posts and phalli as emblems of creative energy and innumerable spirits of both sexes, in the old fireless ways and drinking and singing and dancing in honour of these objects of worship. The present was all in all for them and the call of the future not yet heard by them.

The internal trade routes of this age were by boats on the Indus or the Gaṅgā or along the Royal Road built by the Maurya Emperors. It began at Puṣkalāvatī, crossed the Indus and then ran through Takṣaśilā, across the tributaries of the Indus and the Yamunā, through Hastināpūra to the Gaṅgā, and thence through Prayāga

and Pāṭaliputra to Tāmraliptī. A branch of this road ran from Mathurā to Ujjayinī, and thence to Bharukaccha and Pātāla (the mouth of the Indus). Another great road ran from Bharukaccha through the passes of the Western *ghāṭs*, like the Nānāghāṭ, to Kalyāṇa, Paithaṇ, Tagara (Tēr) and thence by two branches to Vinukoṇḍa and Bandar (Masulipatam). There was a third road running from Kāvērippaṭṭanam to Śrīrangam, thence, crossing the Kāvēri to Uṛaiyūr whence one branch went to Karūr and the Cēra ports, and another to Koḍum-baḷūr, and Madurai to the Pāṇḍiya ports. Besides these there were roads skirting the seashore along the West and the East Coasts. In addition to these, rivers and canals and the sea served the purposes of local traffic.

From Khāravela's inscription we learn that elephants and precious stones were sent by sea from the Pāṇḍiya country to Kaliṅga.

The other articles of internal trade were the same as those described in the previous chapters. Largely on account of this traffic and also on account of the rule of the Āndhras and the Pallavas extending to the South, Prākrit dialects were understood there, just as Hindustānī is the *lingua franca* nowadays.

Foreign trade reached its high water-mark in this age. The building of the Great Wall of China prepared the way for direct communication with Bactria and regular caravan trade between the two countries began in 188 B.C. But the Hiung-nu dominated from Sogdiana to Manchuria and it was only when Wu-ti, the great Han Emperor, (140-86 B.C.) drove them north of the Taklamakān desert that the silk trade with Europe developed. At first it took the following routes—by Khotān across the Himālayas to Kāśmīr, Gāndhāra and Kābul; Indian and *Yavana* merchants of Kābul carried the bulk of silk goods

overland skirting the Karmanian desert to the head of the Persian gulf; a century later, it was carried via Kāṣgar and Yarkhaṇḍ to Bactria; the smaller part went by the Khaibar pass to Takṣaśilā, and thence down the Indus to the port at its mouth called by the Greeks Barbaricum (Pātāla), or by the great road to Mathurā and thence to Bharukaccha and by boat to the Persian Gulf. From there it was carried overland by way of Palmyra to Antioch and thence to Rome or to the coast of Arabia, whence Arab traders took it to Leuke Comoat the head of the Red Sea. Chinese silk goods were also in this age carried across the Tibetan plateau, by way of Lhasa and Sikkim to the Gaṅgā, on which they were floated down to Tāmraliptī, from where they were carried in ships or overland skiriting the east coast of India to the Tamil ports. Besides all this, silk goods were sent from China *via* Indo-China to South India, after Chinese boundaries were extended in the II century B.C.; then the Cēra backwaters became an important meeting-point of traders of all countries from China to Egypt and Greece. The *Milinda Pañha* refers to this trade as follows:—" A shipowner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town will be able to traverse the high seas and go to Vaṅga or Takkola or China or Sōvira or Surat or Alexandria or the Cōḷa coast or Burma or to any other place where ships congregate." The articles that went by sea in Indian boats from the Indian ports or in Arabian boats from the Persian gulf were transported from East African or Red Sea ports, overland and also by boat on the Nile, to Alexandria, whence they were reshipped to Puteoli or Rome. Goods that went overland to Syria were taken across the Mediterranean in Greek ships. When Augustus conquered Egypt (30 B.C.), he strove to develop direct trade with India but failed to control effectively the Arabian and African tribes who were the intermediaries of

that trade. But yet the trade developed sufficiently to require 120 ships to sail in 25 B.C. from Myos Hormus (Mussel Harbour) to India[1].

Embassies from India to Augustus were sent 'frequently' as a result of this trade, in the years 25 B.C. 21 B.C., and 13 B.C. One embassy went from North India taking as presents snakes, tigers and a large bird with a letter in Greek. A second went from Bharukaccha. Zermanochegas, a philosopher who accompanied the expedition burnt himself at Athens. With a smile, he leapt upon the pyre, naked and anointed. His ashes were buried and on the tomb was cut the inscription, 'Zermanochegas, an Indian from Bargoza having immortalized himself, according to the custom of the country, lies here'. Zermanochegas seems to be the result of the attempt to write *Śramanācārya* (Jaina Guru) in Greek and his self-immolation, to be a form of *Sallekhana*. Embassies also probably went from the Cēras, the Pāṇḍiyas and the Cōḷas. The Indian trade grew so rapidly that Tiberius in 22 A.D. wrote to the Roman Senate denouncing the vanity of Roman ladies which led to a rage for costly Indian jewels. In the time of Claudius, Hippalus, a Greek pilot, learnt of the periodicity of the monsoon winds and thence India's trade with Rome rose to enormous proprotions. Nero (54-68) A.D. paid one million sesterces for one cup of emerald (called by the Roman writer 'Indian agate'). A large colony of Indians lived in Alexandria in pursuit of trade, as mentioned by Dion Chrysostom (*c*. 100 A.D.). Roman commercial agents lived in Muśiṛi on the Malabar coast where they built a temple to Augustus, in Madurai where plenty of copper coins used by Romans have been found and in the Cōḷa towns. Roman (*Yavana*, which word now included Greeks and Romans)

1. This is described in full in the *Periplus*.

soldiers, military engineers and carpenters served the Tamil Kings, as is mentioned in early Tamil literature.[1]

The *Periplus* of the Erythraean Sea or Guide to the Indian Ocean, 'the first record of organized trading' between the East and the West, was written *c.* 60 A.D., by an Egyptian Greek merchant of Berenice. It describes the enormous trade which grew as the result of direct transactions between Rome and India. We learn from this book that to the ports of Somāliland were brought from the opposite coast of Surāṣṭra flint glass, wheat, iron, cotton cloth, Indian copal (dammar), rice, *ghi*, sesamum oil, girdles and jaggery and exchanged for ivory, tortoise-shell and frankincense. This trade has persisted to some extent to this day. In the ports of Arabia coloured cloth, saffron, muslins, rice, wheat, and sesamum oil from India were exchanged for myrrh, frankincense, aloes, and tortoise shells. In the Persian Gulf ports white pearls, dates wines, gold and *Yavana* women (for service in Indian royal courts) were exchanged for copper, sandalwood, teak-wood, blackwood, and ebony from India. The chief exports of Barbaricum, the chief port of Sindh, were costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, seric skins (Chinese and Tibetan furs), cotton cloth, silk yarn and indigo; the imports, clothing, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, glass vessels and silver and gold plate; some of these articles were from South India. Bharukaccha was the premier port of Surāṣṭra. Its exports were cotton cloth, agate, carnelian, Indian muslin and mallow-cloth, spikenard, costus, bdellium, Chinese silks; and its imports, wine (Italian, Laodicean, and Arabian), copper, tin, lead, coral and topaz, thin clothing and inferior cloth, coloured girdles a cubit wide (*cummerband*), storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony, gold and silver coins, and

1. H. T., ch. xviii, where a fuller account can be found.

ointment. Some of these articles were for exportation to foreign countries. Suppārā and Kalyāṇa were the chief Āndhra seaports. Next to the Āndhra country was Dimirike (*Tamilagam*), by which the *Periplus* means the Cēra country. The Cēra ports were Tyndis (Tondi), Muziris (Muśiṛi), and Nelcynda and Bacara (Porkāḍ). The chief exports were pearls, ivory, Chinese silks, spikenard, malabathrum, transparent stones, diamonds, sapphires and Malaccan tortoise. The imports were coin, topaz, figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead, realgar and orpiment. The chief Pāṇḍiyan port was Colchi (Koṛkai) 'where the pearlfisheries are.' Into the Cōḷa ports were imported everything made in Dimirike and most of things brought from Egypt. The account of the east coast trade in the *Periplus* is meagre. By the land-route were taken monkeys, tigers, buffaloes and elephants, guinea fowl, parrots, pheasant and peafowl. After the death of Nero (68 A.D.), this trade declined a little but revived soon. Even under the Byzantine emperors the demand for Indian luxuries was steady. Embassies went from India, probably from the Śaka-Pahlava monarchs of Mālwā to Trajan (107 A.D.) and Antoninus Pius (138 A.D.). In 215 A.D. Caracalla massacred the Alexandrians and expelled the foreigners, merchants and others who were settled there. But this only destroyed the direct trade of Rome with India. Indian articles continued to go to the Roman Empire partly *via* Abyssinia and partly *via* Asia minor. An Indian embassy went to Elagabulus *c.* 220 A.D.). The last embassy was met by Bardasanes in Mesopotamia. Bardasanes was especially struck by the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas and their spare vegetable food and contempt of death, their celibacy and the honour they received from kings and the common people.

The balance of trade from the beginning was adverse to Rome. Except coral, wine, lead, and tin, Indians wanted nothing from foreign countries. So Rome had to send to India a vast quantity of specie. Pliny complained in 70 A.D. that India drained annually one million pounds worth of gold coins. The supply in Rome was exhausted and the emperors had to issue depreciated coins, the *aureus* declining from 1-40 of a pound of gold under Augustus to 1-60 under Diocletion.

In this age Indians began to colonize the countries to the East, with which India had already been trading for many centuries. The ports from which colonists went—the East Coast ones—were Tāmraliptī, Kuḍūra at the mouth of the Godāvarī, Masulipatam (Ptolemy's Maisolus), and the Tamil ports of Nellore, Mallai (Mahābalipurām), Kāvērippaṭṭanam (Ptolemy's Khaberis), and Kōḍikkarai (Point Calimere). But the most important was the second and the people who went from this Kaliṅga port were Kaliṅgas, and this fact is preserved in the word Kling, the name of Indian immigrants even today in Burmā and the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

Persistent traditions make a Brāhmaṇa, called Kauṇḍinya, who married a Nāga woman, the founder of Indianized states in Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago. Another tradition is to the effect that a Prince of Indra-prastha founded the kingdom of Kambuja (whence the name Combodia); its capital was called Angkor (Sans. *Nagara*) and also Indraprastha-pura. From these legends we may infer that from before the beginnings of the Christian era, Indian adventurers sowed the seed of 'Greater India'. Indian culture went thither also in the wake of trade. Early Chinese annals describe Touen-sien, a vassal state of Funan, as the entrepot o Indian commerce, "The Kingdom of Touen-sien touches

India on its western side." Merchants come there in great numbers to transact business... ....This market is the meeting-ground of the east and the west......Everyday there are in this place more than five thousand persons............Rare objects, precious merchandise, every thing is to be found there"[1] In another Chinese work it is said that more than a thousand Brāhmaṇas resided in that state, married local women and read their sacred books day and night. The king of Funan sent an ambassador to India.

Campā, the Southern portion of Annam, was colonized by Hindus in the I cent. B.C. Besides the Sanskrit inscriptions of the place, there are plenty of Chinese references to the kingdom, because for ten centuries it continued to be on the borders of the Chinese empire. The first colonists probably went over from Campā in Aṅga. Śrī Māra founded first Indian dynasty of the place. He probably sailed from the mouth of the Godāvarī. The ultimate cause of the movement was the pressure which the Śaka-Pahlavas were exerting on the Āndhras from the west towards the east. In the III century A.D. China was torn by internal dissensions; so the kings of the Śrī Māra *rājakula* consolidated their power and even invaded China (248 A.D.) and acquired a district. The kings of Kambuja were their allies, and they increased their dominions at the expense of China.

Jāvā was known to the Indians from very early times. It is probably the Śyavaka of the Ṛgveda[2]. It is certainly the Yavadvīpa to which Sugrīva sent a party in search of Sītā[3]. The name recurs in the form Jabadiv in Ptolemy. The island is also referred to in early

1. I. C. I. C., p. 14.
2. R. V., viii., 4-2.
3. Rām., iv., 40,30.

Bauddha works. Hence it may be concluded that naval communication with Jāvā existed from very early times. "The annals of the Liang Dynasty (502-556 A.D.) in speaking of the countries of the Southern Ocean say that in the reign of Hsüan Ti (73-49 B. C.) the Romans and Indians sent envoys to China by that route, thus indicating that the Archipelago was frequented by Hindus. The same work describes under the name Lang-ya-hsiu a country which professed Buddhism and used the Sanskrit language and states that 'the people say that their country was established more than 400 years ago.' Lang-ya-hsiu has been located by some in Jāvā, by others in the Malay Peninsula, but even on the latter supposition this testimony to Indian influence in the Far East is still important. An inscription found at Kedah in the Malay Peninsula is believed to be older than 400 A.D."[1] West Jāvā was first colonized by Hindus. Jāvā was so highly Indianized in this period that it sent an ambassador to China in 132 A.D. The Javanese king who sent it was Devavarmā. Jāvā Brāhmaṇas, originally emigrants from Benares, founded a dynasty in the Khmer country. Chinese annals say that in the III century A.D. in Jāvā "the walled cities, jewels and customs were the same as in India." In Siam Brāhmaṇas settled about the same time and chose a Pathamarāja to rule there.

There were four routes of communication between India and China. The Tarim basin between the Altai and the Kwen-lun ranges, was the halting place when people crossed the Himālayas by the Gilgit or Chitral passes on their way to China. This was how in the first cent. B.C. Buddhism travelled to the Yueh-chis, from whom in 2 B.C. it passed on to China, and many Chinese pilgrims travelled later to India. The Tarim basin was

1. H. B., iii, p. 153.

the great outpost of Indian culture—art, literature, science, religion and magic—for nearly a thousand years and most valuable Sanskrit books extinct in India and books in other languages have been recovered from there. Another route was along Assām and upper Burmā, but this was a difficult one and not much used. The third route was opened when Tibet became a powerful Kingdom in the VII cent. A.D. and remained open so long as Tibet and China were allied to each other. The last one was the sea-route, referred to by the *Periplus*. This route must have been used long before the time when that book was written. Tonkin was the entrepot of the trade through this route. But later on foreign merchants went straight to Canton. About 65 A.D. the emperor Ming-ti sent a mission to India for securing Buddhist books. The mission took Kāśyapa Māntranga, who preached the Bauddha Dharma. Along with him went Dharma Rakṣa, both of whom translated into Chinese *the Sūtra of 42 Sections*. Thence began to flow into China an unbroken stream of Indian Pandits during the first three centuries of the Christian era, who translated Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures and wrote original ones. The most important of them were Mahābala (II cent A. D.) Dharmaphala (III century A.D.).

Indian cults also travelled to distant lands along with Indian adventurers. When the Parthava Valarṣa was king of Armenia (149-127 B.C.) two Indian chiefs established a colony at Viṣasp on the western Euphrates, west of Lake Van, and founded temples for the worship of Gisane (Kṛṣṇa), and Demeter (Devamitra, Balabhadra). St. Gregory the Illuminator led a band of Christians against this Indian Colony in the IV century A.D. and in the fight the chief priests were slain, the idols were broken up and the temples razed to the ground. A church was built on the site of Demeter's temple and a cross set up where Gisane's

idol stood. More than 5,000 of the colonists became Christians and 483 men, sons of priests and temple servants, who remained obdurate, had their heads shaved and were transported to a distant place[1]. The Kuṣāṇa empire extended from the Yamunā to Sīstān and from the lower Indus to Sogdiana. There was free inter-communication throughout all these countries governed by the Kuṣāṇas; and Indians, including Brāhmaṇas, were numerous even in Bactria, and they were known as white Indians. Buddhism of the *Mahāyāna* form spread in Bactria where the monasteries enjoyed royal patronage. Indian philosophy led to the birth of Manichoeism. Indian myths, Indian tales, and Indian mysticism influenced the minds of the mixed nationalities that met there and were thence taken to Europe, right up to the British Isles, where Bauddha emblems have been found. The sects of Essenes which prevailed in Palestine before and after 1 A.D. was very much allied to the Bauddha cult. At Axum in Abyssinia there is a monolith, "the idea Egyptian, the details Indian, an Indian nine-storied pagoda translated in Egyptian in the first century of the Christian era." An Indian colony was permanently established at Alexandria in Egypt, which included Brāhmaṇas who took with them the culture of India. Rhaetor Dion Chrysostom (I Century A.D.) learnt from them the stories of the Indian Epics and the contents of the geographical chapters of the Purāṇas. He speaks of Brāhmaṇas with respect and other Indians (sailors and merchants probably) in terms of contempt. Roman ladies eagerly sought after Indian interpreters of omens and dreams. Foreigners travelled to India in this age also and learnt Indian wisdom. Apollonius of Tyana came to Takṣaśilā (I cent A. D.) and learnt the Vedānta. Gnosticism was the ultimate result of this visit. Plotinus thence learnt Indian philosophy

1. J.R.A.S., 1904, pp. 309–314.

and taught it under the name of neo-Platonism. Besides higher knowledge, Indian fables and fairy tales, such as those of the purse of Fortunatus, the league-boots, the magic mirror, the magic ointment, the invisible cap etc., went to Europe.

Greek astrologico-astronomy was borrowed by the Indians in this age. Previous to it that aspect of astronomy which consists in the measurement of time by the observation of the motions of the sun and the moon among the constellations near the ecliptic, coming down from the Vedic times, was alone known to the Indians. The Sun to the *Vaidikas* was a God equal to Indra or Varuṇa and to the Bhāgavatas, the abode of Nārāyaṇa, the Supreme God. The Babylonians had reached the idea of seven planets, in which the Sun and the Moon were included. The Indians borrowed the idea from them, but gave their own names to the planets. Thus Saturn became 'Śani,' the slow-mover', Venus, Śukra, 'the white,' Mars, the 'red-limbed'. Among the Egyptians and the Greeks of the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, Astronomy was developed as the handmaiden of Astrology. They learnt to divide the ecliptic into the twelve signs of the Zodiac for the purpose of forecasting their supposed influence on individual human lives and on earthly events. The Indians in this age borrowed this astrologico-astronomy from them. Before this age whatever predictions the Indians indulged in were confined to the interpretations of omens, such as the flight of birds (*śakuna*) and dreams. As a result of this borrowing, the Sun was degraded in status to equality with the Moon and the planets, all of which were called '*grahas*' 'seizers' of human fortunes. The week of seven days, unknown before and for which there is no name in Indian languages, as well as the names of the week-days associating them with the planets supposed to preside over the initial hour

of each day, were adopted, though the latter came to be commonly used only after the IV century A.D. The worship of the seven planets, unknown to the *Manu smṛti* belonging to Pre-Mauryan ages, but advocated by the *Yājñavalkya smṛti* belonging to the next age, for securing their favour or averting their malignancy was also developed. On the other hand the contact with Greek astronomy led to momentous scientific achievements in India. " The division of the heavens into zodiacal signs, *decani*, and degrees [was] all that the Hindus lacked, and that was necessary to enable them to cultivate astronomy in a scientific spirit. And accordingly we find that they turned these Greek aids to good account; rectifying, in the first place, the order of their lunar asterisms, which was no longer in accordance with reality, so that the two which came last in the old order (*Aśvini* and *Bharaṇi*) occupy the two first places in the new; and even, it would seem, in some points independently advancing astronomical science further than the Greeks themselves did."[1] Ujjayinī was the great entrepot where Indian articles from the Panjāb and the Gangetic *Doāb* and from the whole of the Deccan were collected for export to Alexandria. Brāhmaṇa emigrants to Alexandria learnt Greek astronomico-astrology in this great Egyptian city and brought it to Ujjayinī where post-Vedic Indian astronomy was developed. The line of longitude of Ujjayinī thence became the central 'great circle' whence all astronomical calculations were made. This position Ujjayinī still holds in Indian astronomy. The overflow of Greek astrology and astronomy into India gave rise to Garga's *Samhitā*, the *Parāśara Samhitā* (based on the work of Berosus ?) and the original draft of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* by Maya.

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1. Weber—H. I. L., p. 255.

The greatest literary figure of the early part of this period is Patañjali. The popularity of the Āgamic mythology in early days is proved by the legend that he was Śeṣa, the serpent-couch of Viṣṇu, born as a man. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* has preserved Kātyāyana's *vārttikas*, and in the guise of a commentary, supplements that famous grammar, criticises it and in some cases defends Pāṇini as against Kātyāyana's criticisms. His book is specially interesting because it gives us "a lively picture of the mode of discussion of the day".[1] Patañjali's *Mahābhaṣya* testifies to the existence of a great amount of literature composed in this period, but all of which has perished. It refers to the "dramatic recitals of epic legends—perhaps to actual dramatic performances—and the topics mentioned includes the slaying by Kṛṣṇa of his wicked uncle Kaṁsa and the binding of Bali by the God Viṣṇu. We are told of rhapsodes who tell their tales until the day dawns, and stories were current which dealt with the legends of Yavakrīta, Yayāti, Priyaṅgu, Vāsavadattā, Sumanottarā and Bhīmaratha. A Vārauca *Kāvya* is..........mentioned." Stanzas from *Kāvyas* are incidentally cited, "clearly taken from poems of the classical type". Clear indications "are given of the existence of epic, lyric and gnomic verse".[2] These references are merely casual; hence there must have existed a vast deal of more literature than is referred to by Patañjali.

The *Avadāna Śataka* mentions a Buddhist drama enacted by South Indian players before the King of Śobhavatī. The *Divyāvadāna* shows in its language the influence of Prākrit. The Pāli book, *Milinda Pañha* also belongs to the later half of this period. The first great

1. H. S. L., p. 428.
2. H. S. L., pp. 45-47.

Sanskrit poet in the Christian era belonged to the court of Kaniṣka. Aśvaghoṣā was not only a great poet but also a play wright, musician, scholar and doughty contraversialist. His *Buddhacarita* may be called the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the Bauddhas. An earlier work of his was the *Saundarananda*, the story of the conversion by Buddha of his reluctant half-brother, Nanda. His lyrics are comprised in the *Gaṇḍistotragāthā*. His controversial works are the *Vajrasūci*, and *Mahāyāna Śraddhotpāda*; his plays are *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* (*Śāradvatīputra prakaraṇa*), dealing with the conversion of Śāriputra by Buddha, and an allegorical drama, the far-off predecessor of the *Prabodha Candrodaya*. A younger contemporary of his was Kumāralāta, author of a work in mixed prose and verse, called *Kalpanāmaṇḍi tika*, which under the name *Sutralaṅkāra* is attributed to Aśvaghoṣa. To the same century belongs Āryaśūra, author of the *Jātakamāla*, which unlike the other books of the class is written in classical *Kāvya* style; Nāgārjuna the great southerner and friend of Pulumāyi, was a *Mahāyāna* teacher, magicīan, physician and *Yogi* and was responsible for popularizing among Buddhists the *Tāntrika* rite which ultimately choked off out of Buddhism its founder's ethical teachings. He was the author of *Suhṛllekhā*, in which religion is taught by means of letters, and *Madhyama Kārikā*; *Yogaśataka*, a *Yogasāra*, a *Ratiśāstra* and a *Rasaratnākara* have been attributed to him besides. Nāgārjuna revised and enlarged Suśruta's work on medicine and surgery. On his own special philosophical theories he wrote the *Mādhyamika Sūtra* and *Dharmasaṅgraha*. He expounded the *Sūnyavāda*, which is also taught in two other Sanskrit works of this age, the *Prajñāpāramita* and the *Vajraccdedikā*. Another Buddhist book of the period was the *Saddharma Puṇḍarika*, dealing chiefly with the *Bodhisattvas*. In

the middle of the III century Āryadeva wrote the *Catuḥśatika*. To turn to secular subjects, Patañjali has various references to the beast fable. From the time beast-fables began to be embodied in literary form, they were associated with the *Artha Śāstra* and the *Nītiśāstra*, and the story was made to serve the didactic purpose of teaching practical morality to Brāhmaṇa and especially Kṣatriya youth. The story was related in prose and the moral put in verse form. They were called *Ākhyānas* and some early form of the *Pañcatantra* or *Tantrākhyāyika*, absorbed in later recensions belongs to this period. In the cycle of legends called *Bṛhatkathā* by Guṇāḍhya, who belonged to the court of Hāla the didactic motive retreated to the background and the narrative interest was in the ascendant. The book was composed in Paiśācī Prākrit and is now lost; but its substance can be recovered from Sanskrit adaptations of a later period. The *Bṛhatkathā* became the source of several romances and dramas of later days. It represents, like the *Itihasās* and the *Purāṇas*, primitive history, that in which legends and miracles are woven into the story, not merely because they served to adorn the tale and appealed to the imagination but also because they lent themselves easily to point a moral and served to impress *Dharma* on the minds of the hearers. The earliest love-lyric we have is the *Sattasai* of Hāla in the Mahārāṣṭrī Prākrit. It was probably an anthology of pre-existing verses as well as those composed by the monarch. Pithy observations on life and morals embodied in neatly turned *Ślokas*, coming down from earlier times, (the *Dhammapada* is but a collection of them), and composed in this age also, were collected into anthologies, now as later. *Cāṇakyanīti* is an example. To this age also belongs according to legend the *Kātantra*, 'little treatise', by Sarvavarmā. It is believed to contain the grammatical tradition of the

Aindra School of grammarians, because Tibetan tradition says that it is based on Indragomī's grammar. Though there are several references to the dramas in the literature of this long period, the only extant that can at all be ascribed to this period and that to its very end is Sūdraka's *Mṛcchakaṭi*, a unique specimen of the 'comedy of manners' in Sanskrit. The portion of a medical work obtained from Kāshgar by Bower and hence called the Bower Manuscript also belongs to this period. Prose *Kāvyas* also must have existed in this age, for Rudradāmā's Girnār inscription is written in polished prose (*gadyam kāvyam*). The use of pretty long compounds (one of forty syllables compounded of seventeen words) and very long sentences show that prose works had been written sufficiently long that authors got tired of a simple style and passed on to a vicious *estilo culto*, which became worse in a few more centuries; the style of this inscription is ornate and vivid in figures of sound (*Śabdālaṅkāra*) and of sense (*arthālaṅkāra*); it quotes the technical terms of a developed science of poetics (*alaṅkāraśāstra*), which must have existed before its time. The inscription dated in the 19th year of Pulumāyi is composed in Prākrit prose similar to the Sanskrit one of the contemporary Girnār inscription, indicating that Prākrit prose books must have also existed. In refreshing contrast to this vast Sanskrit literature, a large part of which is in an artificial style, the few early Tamil odes that have come down from this period are composed in a simple style; they are exceedingly realistic in tone; their poetic images are derived from the humblest natural objects and the simple, daily life of the villagers. A very large number of such poems must have been composed in the pre-Christian centuries, for based on the practice of poets Tolkāppiyanār composed the chapter on poetics (*Poruḷadigāram*) of his Tamil grammar, the *Tolkāppiyam*, so named after his title. Before

his time, probably in the I century A.D. an Agattiyanār (Agastya) composed the first Tamil grammar, named *Agattiyam;* but for half-a-dozen quotations, this book of Tamil *Śūttirams* (*Sūtras*) is lost. Not so the work of Tolkāppiyanār, whose proper name was Tiraṇadūmakkini (Tamil form of Tṛṇadhūmāgni), a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāppiya clan (*Kāvya, Bhārgava*) said to have been a disciple with eleven others of Agattiyanār. He wrote probably in the II century A.D, and his grammar deals with (1) sounds (*eḻuttu*), (2) words (*śol*) and (3) subject-matter of poetry (*poruḷ*). The last part deals with the subjects of Tamil poetry, i.e., love (*agam*) and war (*puram*) and describes hundreds of incidents in the course of love and war, each of which ought to have been sung about in various odes, which existed in Tolkāppiyanār's time, and are now all but completely last. What few relics there are of this ancient Tamil poetry are absolutely uninfluenced by Sanskrit, either in the matter of voccabulary and metrics, or in the choice of poetic images and choice of subjects for poetic treatment. They reveal that the Tamils pursued the ordinary pleasures of life without a trace of the feeling of the vanity of earthly joys or the longing for release from earthly entanglements which inspired the Sanskrit literature of that age and of the half-a-century that preceeded it.

The daily life of the people of North of the Pālār was as in the previous epoch. The desperate anxiety of the Sanyāsīs to attain salvation (*Mokṣa, Nirvāṇa; Kaivalya*) was reflected in the life of the layman as a great desire to accumulate 'merit' (*puṇya*) by following the *Dharma* (duties) prescribed for the several castes, by making charitable endowments chiefly for the lodging, feeding and clothing of Brāhmaṇa and of other ascetics, by building temples, digging tanks, providing hospitals, and starting 'water-pandals' i.e. spots for distributing

water to the thirsty walker. The bounds of caste were not rigid as can be inferred from the ease with which foreigners were admitted into the Indian socio-religious polity. Education was carried on as usual, for laymen in the houses of Gurus, for candidates for asceticism in the *Āśramas* of Sanyāsīs (Brāhmaṇa and Jaina) and in the *Vihāras* of Buddha monks, and for craftsmen in the houses of master-workmen (*Ācāryas* and *Karma Śreṣṭhas*). The frequent changes of dynasties did not interfere with the course of trade and industry including agricultural operations. The people dressed as usual, one long piece of cloth round the waist, or as Ālbērūnī quaintly phrases it, wore 'turbans for trousers', another round the shoulders and a turban for the head on ceremonial and other occasions. The Turuṣkas (*Yueh-chi*) wore trousers, coats and boots; but stitched clothes were deemed to be heterodox by the bulk of the people.

The great *Stūpas* like those of Sāñci, Bodh Gayā and Bharhūt were early in this age provided with stone railings and *toraṇas* or gateways. Both of these were lavishly decorated with sculptural reliefs illustrating incidents in the *Jātaka* tales, or the life of Gautama Buddha, besides figures of *Devas*, *Yakṣas*, *Nāgas*, etc. The *Stūpas* were enlarged and provided with pathways around the base for pilgrims to walk on during circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*). The pillars and other later additions bear inscriptions which tell us which person or group of persons provided a particular work. Much of the art-work was done by trained artists but some are crude, the difference in workmanship being due to the fact that men from different parts of the country were responsible for one addition or other and they employed workers whom they could afford to engage, one, the great genius who executed some reliefs on the South gateway at Sāñchi another, the clumsy workmen who worked at

the balustrade round the *Stūpa* at Bodh-Gayā. Besides the improvements of such old *Stūpas* it became also the fashion to cut *Stūpas* out of rocks, not genuine *Stūpas* entombing the relics of Buddha or of his monks, but mere meaningless repetitions of stone *Stūpa*—forms on hills in endless rows regular and irregular, as may be noticed on the hills near Anakāpalli in the Vizagapatam district on the East Coast. They were carved either as votive tablets or merely for earning merit (*puṇya*). The greatest South Indian Buddhist monument was that of Amarāvatī, named after Indra's heavenly capital, in the Guṇṭūr district, whose beautiful sculptures now ornament so many museums in the world. The *Mahācaitya* was first built in the II century B.C. and additions were being made till the III Century A.D. From the time of Vāsisthīputra Śrī Pulumāyi to that of the Ikṣvāku kinglets who ruled after the Āndhras in the III Century A.D., the name of one of whom is found in the Amarāvatī inscriptions—Sirivīra Purisadatta—, and later, the devotion of succeeding generations of Buddhists expressed itself in architectural additions to the *Mahāstūpa*. Nāgārjuna, whose own monastery was on the Nāgārjunī hill not very far from Dhānyakaṭaka, surrounded the great shrine with a railing. "It was probably owing to the stimulus that gave to Buddhism in the Āndhra country" that the artistic instincts of the Āndhras were stimulated and how men like the Cāmār (*Cammāraka*) Vidhikā, enthusiastically made additions to the *Mahāstūpa*. The monastery was still standing in the XII Century A.D., when an inscription said, "there is a city (named) Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka, which is superior to the city of the gods, (and) where (the temple of Śambu (Śiva) (named) Amaraśvara is worshipped by the lord of gods (Indra); where the God Buddha, worshipped by the creator is quite close, (and) where there is a very lofty *caitya* with various sculptures

(*caityam atyunnatam yatra nānā citrasucitritam*)". In 1234 A.D, an inscription records the gift of a lamp 'to the God Buddha, who is pleased to reside at Śrī Dhānyaghaṭa.[1] But today there is no trace above the soil of the tall *Mahācaitya*; the stones of the monument have been utilized for buildings and what remained of the wonderful sculptures has been dispersed throughout the world by irreverent hands, native and foreign.

The making of caves for religious purposes developed rapidly. Caves were dug out of hills for Vaidika, Āgamika, Jaina, and Bauddha purposes. The Nānāghāṭ cave is an example of caves used for Vedic rites. Others have been discovered at Mennāpuram and other places in Malabār.

The chief Jaina caves are found in Orissa. The Hāthīgumpha (Elephant Caves) cave of Khāravela is one of the 66 caves in Udayagiri; there are besides, 19 in Khaṇḍagiri and 8 in Nīlgiri hills. An elaborate carving in the Rāṇīgumpha cave represents a procession in honour of Pārśvanātha. It is a spacious cave, elaborately decorated and consists of two stories. In the upper story, there is the figure of a *Yavana* warrior. From this age onwards up to the present, Orissan art has kept up the old traditions. At Dhāuli there is a fine rock-cut elephant above the Aśoka inscription. Several Jaina (and Bauddha) caves have been discovered in the line of hills, not far from the sea in the southern part of the Tamil country. Numerous caves for the use of Bauddha monks were excavated in the Āndhra country both in Western and Eastern India. The cave cutters did not enlarge natural caves, because there the stone would be rotten, but excavated rocks, without blasting, with axes and chisels. The facade was embellished with carving, architectural

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1. E. I., xv, pp. 258-262.

motifs and sometimes with figures. Within the caves there was a central wall surrounded by little cells, each with a stone bench against one wall and an open veranda on one side. They were dormitories and were sometimes provided with a door. The bigger *Vihāras* had besides a larger cell off the backwall with a big Buddha statue, which was the temple where the monks worshipped. The caves were generally provided with rock cut cisterns (*podhiya*) for holding water. In a later cave, groups of knealing monks or nuns with gorgeous head-dresses, carved life-size, are found; besides a colossal Avalokiteśvara.

The *caityagṛhas* were temples with a *Stupa* in the place of the idol. The earlier ones were translations of wooden architecture into stone. Details useful in timber structures but useless in stone work were reproduced with infinite patience in stone, on account of the innate conservatism of the Indian mind. "Thus, in wooden structures there had been valid enough reason for inclining pillars and door jambs inverse, in order to counteract the outward thrust of the curvilinear roof, but, reproduced in stone, this inclination entirely missed its purpose and served only to weaken instead of strengthening the supports. Again it was merely waste of labour to copy roof-timbers; still greater waste was it, first to cut away the rock and then to insert such timbers in wood, as was done in some of the earlier caves."[1] The finest example is the one at Kārli. Its facade is pierced by three doorways leading to the nave and the two aisles with an archway above through which light pours and illuminates the *stūpa* within. The nave is 124 feet by 45 feet and between it and the aisles is a row of 37 columns, some of plain octagonal form and the rest provided with capitals surmounted by kneeling elephants, horses and tigers and

1. C. H. I., I. p. 635.

riders or attendants standing between them. The hall ends in a semi-dome under which is a *stūpa*, cut out of the rock. The entrance of the Nāsik *caitya* is provided with *Dvārapālas*, like the temples of which it is a copy.

The larger temples and *Saṅghārāmas* **of this period** were brick-built and have all but entirely perished. The roofs of the temples were domical, in imitation of the curved roofs of bamboos which covered the hut-shrines which came down from pre-historic times. Brick succeeded wood as building material, and the domical roof was then made of brick. The ground-plan of temples as well as *Caityagṛhas* was the same, an oblong, square in front, but curved behind, where an image was installed or a *stūpa* was built when they were cut-out of rock, the back of course, merging in the rock and could not be shown. The oldest structural temple now standing is the brick *caitya* at Tēr (Tagra) in the Nizam's dominion, facing east. In later times its *dāgobha* was broken and an idol of Trivikrama (Viṣṇu) placed in it. " The building consists of a vaulted *caitya* within flat roofed hall before it. The former measures 31 feet long by 33 feet high............(Its) waggon vaulted roof rises to a ridge on the outside, and is completed with an apsidal end............Heavy mouldings around the base of the walls and the caves, with slender pilasters between them, are the only decorations on the outside walls over which was a coating of plaster. The lotus ornament upon some of the sculptured stone fragments is very similar to what is found upon the Sāñci *Stūpa* and that which stood upon *Amarāvati*."[1] The facade above the hall roof, was imitated in stone at the Viśvakarma cave of Elūra; when sides-aisles were added to the *Caitya* as in the cave of Kārli, it was like the early

1. A. A. W. I., pp. 12-13.

Christian basilica, which were probably copies of *caityas* with an altar instead of *Stūpa*. Another old brick-built temple is the one "at Rāmnagar, the ancient Ahicchatra, in the Bareilly district. It is a temple of Śiva, adorned with carved bricks and terracotta, said to represent the sports (*līlā*) of Śiva."[1] Probably a Viṣṇu stood behind the *Garuḍa stambha* built by Heliodorus at Bhilsā. The remains of a few more temples have been found in Gujarāt and the Deccan.

Yuan chwang has described a huge *stūpa* and *Saṅghārāma* built by Kaniṣka at Puruṣapura (Peshāwar). In the *stūpa* he deposited the relics of Buddha, recently unearthed. The tower "was more than 470 feet in height and decorated with every sort of precious substances; so that all who passed by and saw the exquisite beauty and graceful proportions of the tower and temple attached to it, exclaimed in delight that it was incomparable for beauty." To the west of this *stūpa*, Kaniṣka built a *saṅghārāma* with "double towers, connected terraces, storeyed piles and deep chambers." The first part of it was a court with a platform in the centre, being the basement of a *stūpa* for relics and approached by steps. It was surrounded by cells in which images were placed. Beyond this was another court surrounded by niches for images and called a *vihāra* or shrine for idols. Beyond this was the *saṅghārāma* proper, the residential cells of the monks. These cells were three-storeyed, the lower part entirely open, flanked by detached pillars. Above this were two roofs with a narrow waist between them. Their fronts were adorned with painting representing scenes from the life of Buddha.

Greek art applied to Indian subjects made its appearance in Gāndhāra when *Yavana* princes ruled there.

1, H. F. A. I. C., p. 22.

its most noted contribution is the finished type of the Buddha image, which has travelled from Gāndhārā to Central Asia and Japan and exists in thousands of replicas and imitations. Greek genius delighted in producing images of single persons with beautiful features; portraiture idealized or not, was its *forte*; Indian genius, on the other hand, concerned itself with single images, not as portraits but as symbolic figures. The representation of spirituality, not beauty, was its aim. Extensive compositions, telling a story or consisting of complicated decorative designs, conquering the difficulties of unpromising materials on which they did their art work, appealed to the Indian artists. Unity they sacrificed to their desire for leaving no ugly corner undecorated. Greek art was worked in Indian style during the Kuṣāna (Turuṣka) period and specimens of it are found in Mathurā, Sārnāth and so far south as Amarāvatī. But the Indian artistic temperament being so utterly different from the Greek, Indian art soon released itself from Greek trammels, and has since been evolving in its own lines. In the age of the Kuṣānas, Bauddha pilgrim-ascetics created colossal standing Bodhisattva statues at Sārnāth, Śrāvastī and Mathurā, probably obtaining funds from *Rājās*. The style is that of the Mathurā school of modified *Yavana* art. This type of Bodhisattva statue spread to other places. Between the feet of the Sārnāth image is a figure in relief of a lion facing, and on the sides of the left foot a naturalistic representation of leaves, buds, flowers, and fruits in bas-relief. Inscribed Jaina images of the Mathurā school belonging to the *Digambara* sect of the same age have also been found at Rāmnagar (Ahiccatra) and other places. Statues of Uṣabha (Ṛṣabha), Sambavanātha, Pārśvanātha with head shielded by a seven-head snake, Varddhamāna and Sarasvatī, as also a *Torana* gifted by a Jaina have also been found at Mathurā. A Śaiva gift of

this age was a tablet of homage (*ayāgapaṭṭra*) set up by Śivamitrā, wife of Gotiputra, a black serpent (*Kālaveḷa*) for the Poṭhayas and Śākas, who began to rule after the disintegration of Kaniṣka's empire. Another was a stone-slab set up by famous actor-brothers of Māthurā in honour of Bhagavān Nāgendra Dadhikarṇa, which shows that the Nāga cult was still prevalent, as it is even to-day (witness the celebration of *Nāga-pañcami*, when members of all castes pour milk on serpent nests).

Painting and the minor arts also reached a high level of development in these days. The pleasure houses of *Rājās* as depicted in dramas and *kāvyas* were adorned with painted figures and decorative patterns. Painted halls are mentioned even in the *Rāmāyana*. The *Mṛccha-kati* refers to the ivory portals of a mansion. But early paintings have mostly perished. Of the frescoes that adorned the rock-cut and structural buildings only one specimen exists, that in the Jogīmāra cave of the Rāmgaḍh hill in the state of Surgujā. It consists of concentric panels separated by narrow bands, a favourite design with Indian painters, the former depicting figures, chariots, etc, and the latter, fishes, *makaras* and other monsters. Terra cotta figurines of men and animals, metal ornaments, engraved seals, jewels, caskets, golden statues, vases with, painting and even wood carvings of this age have been discovered. Philostratus of Lemnos (230 A.D.) mentions a shrine in Takṣaśilā in which were hung pictures on copper tablets, representing the feats of Alexander and Porus. The various figures were portrayed in mosaic of orichalcum, silver, gold, and oxidized copper, but the weapons in iron. The metals were so ingeniously worked into one another that the pictures which they formed were comparable to the productions of the most famous Greek

artists. Among the minor arts of the period may be mentioned that of making caskets to serve as reliquaries. One was found near the road from Kābul to Jalālābād and was probably made in the I cent. B. C. " It is made of pure gold about 2¾ inches high, and 2 inches in diameter, studded with rubies, and adorned with repousse Buddhist figures and decorative designs. Both the upper and lower rims are studded with balas rubies, separated by a four-petalled ornament of the kind known as—*Srivatsa*. The circumference between the jewelled lines is divided into eight inches, which enclose four distinct figures, each repeated. Flat pilasters with sunken panels separate the niches, which are crowned by arches, circular below and pointed above. The inter spaces or spandrils, are filled by cranes with out-stretched wings. All the details are finely executed and the whole composition takes high rank as a specimen of ancient goldsmith's work. There are four distinct figures (1) Buddha in the attitude of benediction; (2) lay follower with his hands clasped in adoration; (3) a male ascetic, with twisted hair and a water-pot in his hand; and (4) a female ascetic praying ".[1]

The casket recently found in the ruined *stūpa* built by Kaniṣka, is a copper one, probably gilt. The lid (of the form of a lotus) supports three figures in the round, a seated Buddha in the centre and a Bodhisattva on each side; there is an elaborate design on the body of the vase and a frieze on the edge of the lid. The central figure is that of Kaniṣka. The maker was a Greek of the name of Agesilas."[2]

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1. H. F. A. I. C., p. 356.
2. *Ib*: p. 358, quoting from Sir. J. Marshall.

CHAPTER XIII

1. AN AGE OF MANY EMPERORS

(300 A.D. to 600 A.D.)

I. Fourth century

Candra Gupta I of the Gupta dynasty, grandson of *Mahārāja* Sri Gupta, and son of *Mahārāja* Sri Ghaṭotkaca, became an independent king and on Feb. 26, 320 A.D. started the Gupta era on what occasion we do not know. The word *Mahārāja* merely meant a petty chief and *Mahārajādhirāja*, the title assumed by Candra Gupta I, an independant king who ruled over a country of some respectable extent. In certain gold coins of his son, his name, that of his wife Kumāra Dēvī and the word Licchavayah occur. And that son Samudragupta is called in inscriptions, *Licchavidauhitra*, daughter's son of (a) Licchavi (king). A Licchavi (Licchivi) is mentioned in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* as the offspring of a (degraded) member of the Ksatriya caste; and the Licchavis were a powerful clan. Hence it can be inferred that Candragupta's rise in caste and political status was due to this marriage with Kumāra Dēvī. He extended his dominion along the Gangetic valley and ruled, during his brief tenure of the throne, a populous and fertile territory, which included Tirhut, South Bihar, Oudh and certain adjoining districts. Before his death he embraced his son in the presence of his courtiers and, looking at him, said, 'Protect (thou) this whole earth'[1].

Samudra Gupta succeeded his father (C. 335 A.D.) He is the object of a *Prasasti*, (eulogy) composed by Harisena, the *Mahādandanāyaka* (general) and *Kumārāmātya* (minister of the prince) of his son Candra Gupta and engraved in the spare spaces of Asoka's Allahabad

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1. G. I., p. 6,

pillar-inscription. As in all other inscriptions, the conventional eulogistic phrases of this ought not to be taken at face value and from them have to be separated definite facts mentioned. Samudra Gupta has benefited from the want of such a critical analysis on the part of the scholars and has been hailed as 'an Indian Napoleon,' who waged a 'war which occupied many years of his unusually protracted reign.' One fact of his life is definitely asserted in the inscription, that he 'abounded in majesty that had been increased by violently exterminating many kings of Āryāvarta (*anēkāryyāvartta rāja prasabhōddharṇōdvṛtta prabhāva mahataḥ*), such as Rudradēva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Candravarma, Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasēna, Acyuta, Nandi, Balavarma.[1]

He thus became the over-lord of a great part of India north of the Vindhyas. The kings mentioned belonged to the petty dynasties which acquired power on the extinction of the Maurya, Śuṅga, and Kuṣāṇa empires, when Nāga kings, relics of old Kastriya houses, and others began to reign, as is said in the Purāṇas. Gaṇapati Nāga's capital was Padmāvatī, now Padam Pawāyā, in the Sindhia's dominions. The two other Nāga kings belonged respectively to the Nāga dynasties of Campāvatī and Mathurā.[2] Candravarma was ruler of Mālwā, and Balavarma, of Kamarupa. The dynasties to which belonged these kings, "exterminated violently by Samudra Gupta," continued to rule over their provinces for some centuries, the extermination being but metaphorical. These "conquests" either were undertaken for, or led to, the celebration of an *Aśvamedha yāga* by Samudra Gupta, by means of which he asserted his superiority to the other ruling princes of the time. The performance of the *yāga* is testified to by his coins and

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1. G. I., p. 7.

inscriptions. Before celebrating the *yāga* he called upon other kings and chieftains to acknowledge his paramountcy. As the inscription says, the kings of the forest countries in the Vindhyan region (now called Central India) acknowledged his overlordship and became his servants (*paricāraka*). He then[1] sent emissaries to other kings to induce or compel them if necessary to regard him as their liege-lord. The kings of the East Coast, such as, Mahēndra of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, Mantarāja of Kurāḷa, Mahēndra of Pisṭapura, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra on the hill, Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla, Viṣnugōpa of Kāñcī, Nīlarāja of Avamukta, Hastivarma of Vengi, Ugrasēna of Palakka, Kubēra of Dēvarāṣtra, Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura were "shown the favour of being captured and liberated, (*grahaṇa mokṣānugraha*). The fact behind this ornate phrase is not necessarily that Samudra Gupta actually took them prisoners and then released them, but that they were threatened with war unless they acknowledged his suzerainty and they did so. If Samudra Gupta had defeated these princes in battles, the writer of the inscription would have said so in, if anything, exaggerated language. The kings were all petty kings who ruled over small districts more or less near the East Coast. Kosala is Dakṣiṇa Kosala, south of the headwaters of the Mahānadī; Mahākāntāra is the region between the Central Provinces on the west and Ganjām and Vizagapatam on the east, where Vyāghra Rājās were still reigning in the VIII century A. D., Kurāḷa, perhaps the region to its south, Pisṭapura the modern Piṭhāpura north of the Godāvarī, Koṭṭūra, Kotturu in the Ganjām district and Ēraṇḍapalla and Dēvarāṣtra, towns between the last two. Palakka was the country round Nellore and

1. But the author of the inscription mentions the Dakṣiṇāpatha expedition before describing the campaign against the kings of Āryāvarta. *Ed.*

Avamukta and Kusthalapura, perhaps north of Palakka on the East Coast. The Pallava power of Kāñcī had weakened before 350 A.D., and the princes between the Pennār and the Godāvarī, formerly Pallava feudatories, had become independent. The rest of the princes named ruled over the wrecks of Kharavela's empire. Beyond the part of Āryāvarta that came under the direct rule of Samudra Gupta, reigned the frontier-kings (*pratyanta nṛpatis*) of Samantaṭa, Ḍavarāka, Kāmarūpa, Nēpāla, Kartṛpura, etc., on one side, and on the other the tribes such as the Mālavas, Ārjunāyanas (? Haihayas) Yaudhēyas, Mādrakas, Ābhīras, Prārjunas, Sanakānīkas, Kākas, Kharaparikas, the last of whom were in the Central Provinces. The frontier kings ruled over the regions of the foot hills of the Himālayas and the hilly districts of North-East India, and the tribes in the Panjāb and Sindh valleys and the West Coast down to Koṅkaṇ. These are said to have paid him tribute (*kara*), obeyed his behests and honoured him. The Daivaputras, Śāhis, Śāhānuśāhis, Śakas and Murundas i.e. the relics of Kuṣāṇa and Śaka-Pahlava kings in Afghānistān and Balochistān, as well as the people of Ceylon offered themselves, maidens, and Garuḍa-standards (the emblem of the Early Guptas) and solicited his commands.[1] Independent outside testimony confirms one of the facts above mentioned, for according to a Chinese work, Siri Mēghavanna of Ceylon (352-379 A.D.) sent valuable gifts to Samudra Gupta and secured permission to build a monastery near the Bodhi tree at Gayā. The tributes and presents mentioned in the inscription were given probably on the occasion of the *aśvamedha* which Samudra Gupta celebrated, the memorials of which are his coins bearing the figure of a horse. From the inscription we also learn that he was an accomplished

1. G I., p. 8.

poet and musician. In a few of his coins he is represented as playing on a musical instrument. He held frequently *sabhās* where *pandits* conducted disputations. He patronized scholars, one of whom was Vasubandhu, the Bauddha author. In another inscription of his he is praised as being superior to Pṛthu and Rāghava in giving gold[1]. In inscriptions of his successors he is called the restorer of the *aśvaamedha* which had long been in abeyance (*cirōtsannāśvamedhāhartuh*).[2] It may be noted that the many petty dynasties that ruled in Western India or the Śaka Mahākṣatrapas of Mālwā and Gujarāt or again the Tamil kings are not mentioned in the Allahābād inscription. Samudra Gupta's actual dominions i.e. those ruled by officers appointed by, and directly responsible to, him consisted, as the Purāṇas distinctly say, of the territories "along the Gaṅgā (*anugangā*), Prayāga, Sākēta, and the Magadhas."[3] The Magadhas included Bihar and Bengal (or as it was then called Pudranvarddhana) but not Kāmarūpa (Assam) which was ruled by its own kings (*pratyanta nṛpatis*). It is difficult to decide what was the capital of the early Guptas. Probably the pillar now at Allahābād which contains the inscription of Samudra Gupta was set up at Kausāmbī, 25 miles from that place by Aśoka and while still there this inscription was incised on it. So Allahābād must have been his capital. The inscription speaks of his taking his pleasure at the city that had the name of Puṣpa (*Puṣpāhvaye krīḍatā*)[4] while Puṣpapura was the name of Pāṭaliputra in ancient times, the above phrase does not require us to believe that it was his capital; all the more so, because till the time of Skanda Gupta no Gupta

1. G. I., p. 20.
2. *Ib.*, p. 43.
3. D. K. A., p. 53.
4. G. I., p. 12.

inscriptions have been found anywhere near Pāṭaliputra, and where it is mentioned in two inscriptions of Candra Gupta there is no indication that it was his capital. Or perhapsthe phrase 'the city that had the name of Puṣpa' means Kanyakubja.[1] Samudra Gupta, whose name seems to have been Kāca,[2] before he assumed the title Samudra Gupta, started the fashion of assuming titles, a fashion which was adopted by many kings of later ages, e.g., the later Pallavas of Kāñcī. The titles of Samudra Gupta are found on his coins and they were *Parākramah*, 'Valiant', *Apratirathah* 'Invincible', *Kṛtāntaparaśuh* 'Yama's battle-axe, *Sarvarājōcchetta* 'Exterminator of all kings', *Vyāghraparākramah* 'Valiant like the tiger', *Aśvamedha parākramah*, Valiant performer of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice'. Some of these titles occur in the inscriptions of his son, when they describe Samudra Gupta.

Candra Gupta II, son of Mahārājādhiraja Samudra Gupta and Mahādēvī Dattadēvī, was 'accepted by him' as his successor, and ascended the throne (*c*. 385 A. D.). Not satisfied with the territories he inherited from his father, he set about "seeking to conquer the whole world." In an Udayagiri inscription, his minister of peace and war (*vyaprta sandhi vigrahah*), who acquired this office of minister of Foreign Affairs by hereditary descent, by name Saba, also Virasena, of Pāṭaliputra, says that when he caused the cave to be made, the king was with him at Udayagiri on his tour of conquest. The greater part of Surāṣṭra was under the Śaka-Pahlava princes of the line founded by Castana in 78 A.D. The last coin of these

1. G.I., p. 5.

2. See A. I. G., pp, 8-10 for an alternative suggestion that "Kāca appears to be a son of Candra Gupta I who had lost his life during the life time of his father". *Ed.*

Śaka-Pahlavas is dated 397 A.D. Candra Gupta II annexed the province in *c.* 400 A.D. The way in which Castana's dynasty was actually extirpated is described by Bāṇa in his Harṣa Carita thus:—"In his enemy's city the king of the Śakas, while courting another's wife, was butchered by Candra Gupta concealed in his mistress' dress."[1] In some of his inscriptions Candra Gupta is called *Paramabhāgavata*, 'the supreme devotee of the Lord (Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa.)[2] This and the Garuḍa emblem of the Early Guptas show that they were Vaiṣṇavas. He is also called Rajaśri in an inscription: this merely means that he was a pious man. Candra Gupta died *c.* 413A.D. In his inscriptions he, like his father, used many titles. They are *Śrī Vikramah* 'the hero', *Vikramādityah* 'the Sun of heroism', *Simhavikramah* 'of the valour of the lion', *Simhacandrah* 'the lion-like Candra', *Ajitavikramah* 'of invincible valour'; a few coins contain the legend Sri Gupta Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Candra Gupta Vikramāṇka 'possessing marks of valour, Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Candra Gupta of Śrī Gupta house'; some others, *Paramabhāgavata* Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Candra Gupta Vikramāditya. Of these many titles Vikramāditya has been pounced upon by some scholars and added to his name, as if that alone were his title.

The political importance of Samudra Gupta and Candra Gupta has been much exaggerated by recent writers; but the facts that during their reigns numerous independent dynasties flourished in North India and that the Vākāṭakas became very powerful in the region south of the Gupta territories show that Gupta power was not so great as it has been made out to be.

The districts of Uttarāpatha, i.e., from Pañcāla to Persia, then under the rule of the Sassanians, were ruled

1. H. C., p. 194.

either by tribal oligarchies, like those of the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, or by the descendants of the Kuṣāṇas blended with the Śakas, called Daivaputras, Śāhis, Śāhanuśāhis, (in later times merely Turki Śāhis). A Chinaman "writing in 392 A.D., calls the king of Tien-Chou (India) famous for its elephants, a 'son of heaven' (i.e Devaputra)"[1] a title borne only by the Kuṣāṇas Their coins bear traces of the influence of the neighbouring Sassanian kings of Persia. Mālwā was ruled over by a series of kings whose names ended in —*varma.* The dynasty was founded by Jayavarma who superseded Śaka rule in that province at the end of the III century. His grandson, Candravarma set up the Mehrauli iron pillar now in Delhi.[2] He claims to have conquered the Vahlikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus and also the Vaṅgas.[3] He is identical with the Candravarma, contemporary of Samudra Gupta. His capital was Puskarana, now in the Jodhpur state. He has left a little inscription of three lines on a hill at Susunia near Bankura (Bengal), where he calls himself *Cakrasvāminah-dāsāgrā*, 'chief of the slaves of the wielder of the discus.'[4]

To the east of the Gupta dominions i.e., beyond Bengal-Assam (Kāmarūpa, Prāgjyotisa) was under the rule of a line of kings whose names also ended in —*varma* and who like the members of later Assam dynasties claimed to be descended from Naraka, father of Bhagadatta, who fought with Arjuna and Kṛṣna. Pusyavarma founded the dynasty in the beginning of the IV century. His son Samudravarma married a lady whose name was the

1. J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 682 (Kennedy).

2. See I.A., xlviii, pp. 98-101, where Candra of the iron pillar is identified with Candra Gupta I of the Gupta dynasty. *Ed.*

3. E. I., xii, p. 317.

4. E. I. xiii, 133.

same as that of Samudra Gupta's wife, i.e. Dattadevī. His sway extended, it is said, to Burmā. His son Balavarma was "exterminated" by Samudra Gupta, i.e., acknowledged his overlordship. His son Kalyāṇavarma, "was not the abode of even very small faults."[1].

Over Maha Kosala Mahendra ruled in the time of Samudra Gupta. His successors held the province till the end of the century, when a new dynasty was founded by Sura.[2].

Kaliṅga, after the decay of the Cēta dynasty in about the I century A.D., was divided into three different states. These three provinces were together called the Trikaliṅga. Pliny called them the Gangaridae Kalingae and Macco (Mukha?) Kalingæ.[3] These were called in India respectively Utkala, Kongodha, and (South) Kaliṅga. Petty chiefs ruled over different places in the Trikaliṅga when Samudra Gupta performed the *aśvamedha*, e.g. Mantaraja, Mahēndra, Svāmidatta, etc. In the middle of the IV century adventurers belonging to the Gaṅga family of Kolahala (Kuvalala, now Kolar in the Mysore state) managed to reach Kaliṅga and founded the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty which lasted for over a thousand years.[4] The

1. E. I., xii, p. 76.
2. E. I., ix. p. 345.
3. C. A. G. I., p. 594.
4. From the classical accounts we learn that in Alexander's time the *Gangaridai* (Gaṅgas) and the *Prasii* (Prāchyas) were living along the valley of the river Ganges (Gaṅgā). The Western Gaṅga records show that the Gaṅga princes emigrated in two successive batches from their original home (Gaṅgavāḍi) and founded the Eastern and Western Gaṅga dynasties of Kaliṅga and Mysore (Talkad) respectively. The former was established a few decades earlier than the latter, whose foundation is tentatively assigned to the middle of the fourth century A.D. Hence the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga had nothing to do with their Cousins of Mysore after their departure from their ancestral home Gangavāḍi in the north. See J. A. H. R. S., v. pp. 193-197, 261-265; G.T., pp. 13-14. *Ed.*

earliest grants of this family so far known was issued in the year 51 of an unnamed era,[1] probably that which began with their settlement on the east coast. The names of these kings also ended in —*varma*. The dynasty may be called that of the Early Eastern Gaṅga kings to distinguish it from that of the later Eastern Gaṅga kings which supplanted it in the middle of the VIII century A.D. They were worshippers of Gokarnasvāmi of Mahēndragiri, in Ganjām district and their capital was Kaliṅganagara (Mukhaliṅgam) in the same district.

On the opposite (west) coast the Ābhīras continued to rule over Kathiavad and the region round Nāsik. Nothing is known about their kings, but they ruled without interruption till the V century when the Traikūṭakas succeeded them and took over their era.

A new power gradually arose in Central India, that of the Vākāṭakas.[2] The 'banner of the Vākāṭaka tribe,' Vindhyaśakti, was a petty chief who ruled south of the Vindhyas after the Āndhra dynasty was supplanted by a

1. Most of the inscriptions of the Early and some of the inscriptions of the Later Eastern Gaṅga kings are dated in an Eara called '*Gāṅgēyavamsa Pravardhamān Vijaya rājya Samvatsara*' or simply '*Vijaya-rājya Samvatsara*'. The name indicates that it had its beginning in some signal achievement of the Gaṅga princes. When and under what circumstances it was started are matters of keen discussion among scholars. One view is that it was initiated in 349 A.D. to commemorate the liberation of the Gaṅgas from the yoke of the Piṣtapura Kings who were defeated by Samudra Gupta. (See J. B. O. R. S., ix, pp. 398-415; xviii, pp. 272-295). Another view is that it was started in 494 A.D. or 497 A. D., after and as a result of the fall of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. (See J. A. H. R. S., ii, pp. 153-164; V, pp. 200-204 and 267-274; xi, pp. 19-30; I. C., iv, pp. 508-512). A third view places it between 550 and 557 A.D (Sec. I. C., iv, pp. 171-179). *Ed.*

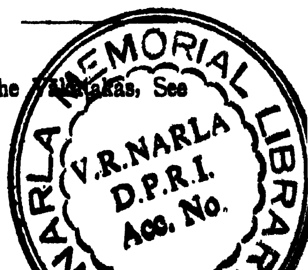
2. Scholars have different views about their geneology and chronology. See J.R A.S., 1914, p. 328; H.I., p. 79; and J.I.H., xiv, p. 204. *Ed,*

number of petty kings, and half a century before the time of the rise of the Guptas. His son whom the Purāṇas call Pravīra, ruled with Kāncanakā as capital for 60 years and performed *vājapēya* sacrifices and gave excellent *dakṣiṇas*.[1] An inscription of one of his descendants, Pravarasena II, calls him Mahārāja Śrī Pravarasena (I) of the sovereign (*samrāt*) Vākāṭakas, and performer of many sacrifices. A son of this king, named, Gautamīputra, (who did not reign), married the daughter of Bhava Nāga, the Mahārāja of the Bhāraśivas,[2] who carried a Śivalinga on the shoulders, whose district bordered on the Gaṅgā and who performed ten *aśvamedhas*. Mahārāja Rudrasena I, grandson of Pravarasena I and of Bhava Nāga, was the second Vākāṭaka sovereign. He was a devotee of *Svāmi Mahābhairava*, a particularly powerful form of Śiva.

Pṛthvīsena I, (*c*. 340-390 A.D.), was the third Vākāṭaka Mahārāja. He was a devout Maheśvara and he had 'an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons, and his treasure and means of government increased for a hundred years',[3] i.e. he lived long and his territories expanded till they became continguous with Kuntala, whose king (Konganivarma) he 'conquered', at least, fought with. He was succeeded by Rudrasena II. Rudrasena married Śrī Prabhāvatī, daughter of Devagupta (Candra Gupta II) *c*. 395 A.D. He was a worshipper of Cakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu)".

The ruler of Vengi at the time of Samudra Gupta was Hastivarma. He probably beloged to the Śalankāyana family. Towards the middle of the century the Vengi ruler was Devavarma. He kept up the tradition of the

1. D.K.A., p. 50.
2. For an account of the Bhāraśivas, and the Vākāṭakas, See H. I. *Ed.*
3. G. I., p. 241.
4. G. I., p. 240.



early Pallavas of Kāñcī by the use of Prākrit in court records and the title of *assamedhayāji*. His grant is the latest Prākrit grant known to us. He gave some lands to a Brāhmaṇa of Elura (Ellore) in the lunar month of Pauṣa of the 13th year of his reign, (a mixture of the earlier and later methods of dating). He meditated at the feet of Citrarathasvāmi on Mahendragiri (Ganjām district)[1] His relationship with Hastivarma is still to be discovered. There is, however, no doubt that Hastivarma was succeeded by Nandivarma I who governed the Śālankāyana kingdom till the end of the century.[2]

At Kāñcī the Pallava power steadily declined. In the last quarter of the century the ruler there was one Trinayana Pallava. During his time Mayūrasarma rebelled and founded the Kuntala kingdom. Karikāl Cōḷa took advantage of this weakening of the Pallava power and captured Kāñcī district. Thus ended the first Pallava dynasty of kings who issued their charters in Prākrit. Trinayana then became a king in the Telugu country and a feudatory of Karikāl.[3] In about 400 A.D. an adventurer from Ayōdhyā, called Vijayāditya, founder of the Cāḷukya royal family, carved out a kingdom for himself in the Deccan. Trinayana fought with him at Mudivemu in the Cudappa district, and killed him (*c.* 400 A.D.) Trinayana's name is not found in the genealogical lists we have of the Pallavas because the succeeding line of Pallava kings were not descended from him.

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1. E. I., p. 56 ff.

2. See J. D. L., xxvi, pp. 58-63. *Ed.*

3. Karikāl's contemporarneity with Trilōcāna Pallava and his conquest of Kāñcī are questioned by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri. See S.C.H.A., pp. 51 ff. *Ed.*

One of the lieutenants of Trilōcana Pallava,[1] by name Malla, was awarded by him the Ṣaṭsahasra district (i.e. one of 6,000 villages) with Dhanadapura (Amarāvatī) as capital. He was a *caturanvaya* (of the śudra caste). Thus was founded the dynasty of chiefs, later on called, chiefs of Velanāndu. They held the district for eight or nine centuries.[2]

A new family of kings—**the Kadamba**—rose in Kuntala (North Mysore) about this time, i.e. the latter half of the IV century A.D. Its founder was a Brāhmaṇa of the name of Mayūraśarma. His name, Mayūra means the peacock, the vehicle (*vāhana*) of the God Svāmi Mahāsena (also Ṣadānana, Ṣaṇmukha, the six-faced, and Kārttikeya), the foster-son of the Kṛttikas (Pleiades), the deities of this royal family. It was originally a family of very pious Brāhmaṇas and was so called because a *Kadamba* tree grew near the house where they resided. Mayūraśarma of this family went along with his preceptor, Viṣṇuśarma to the city of the Pallava lords (Kāñcī) and entered a *ghatika* (college) as a mendicant student. He was insulted by a Pallava horseman and to retrieve the honour of Brāhmaṇas organized a band of soldiers, occupied the forests round Śrī Parvata (Kurnool district), and began to worry the frontier-guards of the Pallavas and levy taxes from Mahābāṇa (the lord of Āndhrapatha) and his feudatories. He defeated the Pallava armies sent against him. The Pallava lords at last 'chose him for a friend' and crowned him (*c.* 360 A.D.) king of one of the provinces that resulted from the wreck of the Āndhra empire near the western sea (Kuntala) with Banavāsi (Vaijayantī) as his capital.[3] The Kadambas thus began

1. *i.e.* Trinayana Pallava. *Ed.*
2. E. I., iv, p. 34.
3. E, I., viii, pp. 33-4.

their rule as feudatories of the Pallavas. Mayūraśarma was also called Trinayana Kadamba and as in those days feudatories invariably took on the names of their overlord, his Pallava suzerain must have been the person, called Trinayana Pallava, who was deprived of Kāñcī by Karikāl Cōḷa. After this event Mayūraśarma became an independent ruler and called himself *Dharma Mahārājādhirāja* of Vaijayantī. Mayurasarma's son, Konganivarma "performed lofty great exploits in terrible wars."[1] This refers to the defeat which Pṛthvisena I inflicted on him. As the suffix *varma* of Konganivarma's name indicates, he, though the son of a Brāhmaṇa, had in virtue of his sovereignty become a Kṣatriya. He was succeeded by Bhāgīratha, who ruled upto and beyond the century.[2]

The Mahābāṇas from whom Mayūraśarma levied tribute were the chieftains of the districts between the Pallava and the Āndhra territories, called Āndhrapatha (Tamil Vadugavali). They claimed to be descended from Mahābali, from whom Viṣṇu, as Vāmana, begged for three footsteps of land. Hence this is a southern legend which even in those early days had crept into Sanskrit books. The Mahābāṇas were the feudatories at first of the Pallavas, then of the Cōḷas and exercised power for nearly eight centuries in the border-districts of the Tamil country.

Chiefs of the Gaṅga tribes belonging to Kolahala (Kolar in Mysore state) came to the front, in the middle of this century. One branch of them ruled near the head-waters of the Kāvērī, but their history is involved in a mass of legends and has been falsified by a number of forged copper-plates. The only thing we know about

1. E. I., viii, p. 34.
2. E. I., viii, p. 35.

them is the fact of their rise about this time. They are called Western Gaṅgas in contradistinction with another branch of this family, viz., the Eastern Gaṅgas who at about the same time settled in the region between the Godāvarī and the Mahānadī. Their inscriptions begin to crop up from the next century.

In the extreme south of India the Cōḷas rose to prominence in the latter half of the IV century. Karikāl Cōḷa, the ruler of Uraiyur (Trichinopoly), a great hero and the first Tamil king named in early Tamil literature, warred with contemporary Pāṇḍiya and Cēra kings, worsted them and became the overlord of the Tamil provinces. He then conquered Kāñcī (*c.* 370 A.D.). He pushed his conquests beyond, to the Cudappa district (Renādu). The rulers of Renādu for two centuries and a half after this time and the later Telugu dynasties down to the XV ccnt. A.D. claimed descent from Karikāla, Lord of Uraiyur. Karikāl covered the temple of Kāñcī with gold plates and raised embankments on both sides of the Kāvērī and put a stop to the age-long annual inundation of the Cōḷa country.[1] He transferred his capital to Kāvērippattanam on the mouth of that river and developed a large sea-trade.

ii Fifth Century.

Candra Gupta II was succeeded by his son, Kumāra Gupta I born of Dhruvadēvī (*c.* 413 A.D.) He reigned for more than forty years. In his time an Indian embassy went to China (428 A.D.).

Tōramāṇa, the king of the *Hūṇas* established his empire in the Oxus basin in 448 A.D. and from thence began incursions into India. As a result Kumāra Gupta's hold over his western provinces began to weaken. This

1. S. I. I., III, iii, p. 386.

is perhaps indicated by the fact that he is called but a *Mahārāja* in the year 449 A. D. when a Buddha image was installed by a Bhikku in the Allahābād District.[1]

The weakening of Kumāra Gupta's power in the west is also indicated by the fact that in the year 459 A.D., four years after his death, Bhimavarma calls himself a *Mahārāja* and does not refer to a Gupta suzerain while dedicating a Śaiva sculpture.[2] But in the eastern part of his dominions, in Pundravarddhana (Northern Bengal), his power was not reduced, for there have been discovered two copper-plate grants dated 443 A D. and 448 A.D. where he is referred to as *paramadaivata parama bhattāraka mahārājādhirāja* and where *viṣayapatis* (provincial governors) appointed by him ruled. He died in 455 A.D. The titles on his coins are *Śrī Mahendrah* 'the great Lord', *Simhamahendrah* 'the Lion-like great Lord', Śrī Pratāpah 'the valiant', Mahendrādityah 'the great Lord, the Sun'. His son Mahārājādhirāja Skanda Gupta, to quote his own words, "prepared himself to restore the fallen fortunes of (his) family; a (whole) night was spent on a couch that was the bare earth; and then, having conquered the Puṣyamitras, who had developed great power and wealth, he placed (his) left foot on a footstool which was the king (of that tribe himself)..............when his father had attained the skies, (he) conquered (his) enemies by the strength of (his) arm, and established again the ruined fortunes of (his) lineage; and then, crying 'the victory has been achieved,' betook himself to (his) mother, whose eyes were full of tears from joy, just as Kṛṣṇa, when he had slain (his) enemies, betook himself to (his mother) Dēvakī. (He) with his own armies established

1. G. I., p. 47.
2. G. I., p. 297.

(again his) lineage that had been made to totter......... (and) with his two arms subjugated the earth, (and) showed mercy to the conquered people in distress, (but) has become neither proud nor arrogant, though his glory is increasing day by day........(By his) two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a terrible whirlpool, joined in close conflict with the Hūṇas." To render thanksgiving to his God, he made an idol of Śārngi (the God with the bow, Rāma) and allotted a village (now called Bhitari, in the Ghāzīpur district) to the idol.[1] The date of the grant is not known. "Having broken down the pride of the *mlēcchas* to the very root", he "appointed protectors in all the countries. Of these Parṇadatta was in charge of Surāṣtra. Parṇadatta appointed his son lord of the city of Girinagara (Junāgaḍh), and *Viṣayapati* of the district round. The latest inscription of Skanda Gupta's reign is dated 468 A.D. His latest coin is also dated in the same year. But long before this date his power had begun to decline. His coins become scarce in Western India some years before the end of his reign, and they were also debased, the amount of pure gold in a *Suvarṇa* being reduced by more than 25 per cent. Moreover Gupta dominion underwent fission into two. Puragupta, his half-brother, took advantage of his troubles and set up independent rule as *Mahārājādhirāja* in South Bihar. He tried to restore the purity of the coinage. In his coins he used the title of *Śrī Vikramah.*[2] Both Skanda Gupta and Pura Gupta seem to have died before 470 A.D.

From now two lines of Guptas reigned simultaneously. The main line after Skanda Gupta's death was represented by Kumār Gupta II, probably the son of

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1. G. I., pp. 55-6.
2. G. C., pp. 134-6.

Skanda Gupta. His reign was short. His title was Prakāśāditya. An inscription of his reign dated 474 A.D. has been found at Sārnāth. He was succeeded by Buddha Gupta in c. 476 A.D. Two inscriptions of his reign dated in 477 A.D. have been found at Sārnāth, and two copper-plate grants, in Bengal, showing that his sway extended over Benares province and Pundravarddhana. We know the name of one of his feudatories, *Mahārāja* Surasmicandra who governed the country lying between the Kalindi (Yamunā) and the Narmadā. One of the silver coins of Budha Gupta, bears the date 494 A.D. Bhanu Gupta succeeded him and was the chief Gupta monarch when the century ended. The minor Gupta line was represented by Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya, who succeeded Pura Gupta.[1]

The Hūṇas under Toramāṇa some time before the end of the century conquered the Panjāb and Mālwā. He took on the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*.

How little the ordinary life of the people was affected by these changes of dynasties is seen from the fact that in the very first year of the reign of Tōramāṇa, Dhanyaviṣṇu brother of Mātṛviṣṇu, the deceased *Viṣayapati Mahārāja*, built a temple to Nārāyaṇa of the form of a Boar, in his own *viṣaya* of Airikiṇa (Eran).[2]

Outside the gradually decreasing Gupta dominions, the royal families of the IV century continued to rule with greater power on account of the shrinkage of Gupta domination, and new dynasties arose in the provinces from which Samudra Gupta had claimed homage. The

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1. E. I., xv, pp. 116-123. (R. Basak).
Other scholars have suggested a slightly different line of succession after Skanda Gupta. See A.B.I., I, pp. 67ff.; P.H.A. I, pp. 360 ff- *Ed.*

2. G. I. pp., 159-160.

districts between the Indus and the Persian border continued under the Turki Śāhīs. The Chinese called this kingdom by the names of Kipin (which in earlier centuries meant Kāśmīr) and Kapisa. Gāndhāra was its eastern capital. Udabhanda (Waihind, Ohind) on the Indus was also one of the residence towns of its kings. "Nagarahara, Lampaka and other countries (*i.e.* districts) belonged to their dominions, which later comprised Udyana (the Swāt valley)."[1] Fa Hsien describes the Bauddha temples which he found in this region. Sung-Yun, who travelled in Gāndhāra in 520 A.D. says that two generations previously a (Hunda) king ruled there; he "was cruel and vindictive and he practised the most barbarous atrocities." In Jalandhara province (in the Panjāb) a dynasty of Yādava *Rājās* ruled. Their names ended in *—varma*, and they are described as pious men "who kept the vow of an Ārya"[2] They were relics of ancient petty chiefs during the period. Their capital was Singhapura.

Other ancient Kṣatriya families rose to power in the latter half of the century. **The Maukharis** were an ancient family possibly known to Pāṇini. The founder of the family was one Mukhara. A seal of the Maukharis with the Pāli legend *Mōkhalinam* in Aśokan characters has been found at Gayā, where a minor branch of the family lived.[3] In the middle of the V century the Maukhari kings became prominent at Kanauj. Mahārāja Harivarma "brought kings under his subjection by prowess and affection."[4] He "became known by the name *Jvālāmukha* 'flame—faced', because "his foes were struck with terror when they saw his face red" with anger at the time of

1. E. I., xiv, pp. 290-2.
2. E.I., i, p. 15.
3. G.I., Intro. p. 14.
4. G.I., p. 220.

battle.[1] His son was Ādityavarma, the smoke from whose sacrifices was mistaken by peacocks for clouds.

A new line of Gupta rulers of Magadha rose at about the same time. The first chief of this dynasty was Kṛṣṇa Gupta, a *nṛpati* (petty king), a warrior and a patron of letters. His son Harṣa Gupta was also a warrior. His sister Bhaṭṭarikā Dēvī Harṣaguptā was married to Mahārāja Ādityavarma, the Maukhari[2].

Mālwā, during this century, continued under the rule of *varmas*. Naravarma, the brother of Candravarma, reigned in 404 A.D. as is attested to in a broken slab inscription found at Mandasōr. This is the earliest inscription so far found which used the Vikrama era, under the name *Māḷava gaṇamnate*, once translated 'of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas, but recognized as meaning 'repeatedly used by the Mālavas'. This inscription is highly poetical, be-fitting its composition in Mālwā, the centre of Indian culture from old times. It says that in spring "the earth, garlanded by corn, shines with lustre" and Vāsudeva is a tree " which gives heaven as its noble fruit, whose charming young shoots are the celestial damsels, whose many branches are the heavenly cars, (and) which drops the honey of rains from the clouds"[3] In the year 424 A.D. (Māḷava era 480) Viśvavarma was ruler (*nṛpah*) of western Mālwā (and nominal feudatory of Kumāra Gupta.) He was succeeded by Bandhuvarma.

In Assam *varma* kings continued to rule. They are described as well versed in the Vedic rites and in philosophic and other lore.[4] Hence Yuan Chwang in the VII century called them a dynasty of Brāhmaṇas.

1. E.I., xiv, p. 119.
2. G.I., p. 221 and Intro. p. 14.
3. E.I., xii, p. 321.
4. E.I., xii, pp. 78-9.

In Baghelkhand (Central India) ruled during this century *mahārājas*, who in imitation of the title of *rājādhirājarṣi* of Candra Gupta II, called themselves *Parivrājakas*. Later in the century these kings did not regard themselves as Gupta feudatories for instead of mentioning Gupta monarchs in their grants, they speak of 'in enjoyment of sovereignty by Gupta kings' (*Guptanṛparājyabhuktan*). The inferior title *nṛpati* here has to be noted.

Mahārāja Hasti of this line mentions three of his *mahārāja* ancestors.[1]

The Eastern Gaṅgas, whose family God was Gokarṇasvāmi on Mahēndragiri continued to rule in Kaliṅga. Mahārāja Indravarma, in the 87th and 91st years of the *Gaṅgēya* era (middle of the V cent)[2] claims to have effected "the establishment of the spotless race of the Gaṅgas." Probably he consolidated their power.

The Traikūṭakas who had been driven into Central India in the beginning of the IV century, regained Trikūṭa, soon after the destruction of Śaka power in Mālwā by Candragupta II. Early in the V century Mahārāja Indradatta of this family was ruling over Aparānta with Aniruddhapura as capital. His son, Mahārāja Daharasena is styled *paramavaiṣṇava* in his coins and in his inscriptions, which means the same thing, *bhagavat-pāda-karmakara*, 'servant at the feet of Bhagavān Viṣṇu.' His son, Vyāghrasena, from the victorious Aniruddhapura, the capital, gave a hamlet (*palliki*) to his *purohita*, the Brāhmaṇa Nāgaśarma. His minister of peace and war (*mahāsandhivigrahika*), Karka, wrote the grant, the king having sent the message ordering the gift through the *dūtaka*, Halahala, in 491 A.D.[3]

1. G.I., p. 97.

2. It appears that the author favours the view that the Gāṅga Era was started about the middle of the IV century A.D. *Ed.*

3. E.I., xi, p. 221.

Another grant probably of the same family dated 495 A.D. has also been found. The Traikūṭakas were named after the mountain Trikūṭa, which Kālidāsa locates in the Aparānta country. Aniruddhapura, is probably the same as Sopara (Surparaka), the chief place of Aparānta in ancient times. Harisena Vākāṭaka put an end to their rule in the VI century.

The Vākāṭaka kings were the most powerful rulers in this century. After the death of Rudrasena II, his widow, Prabhāvatī, born of Śrī Mahādēvi Kubhēranāgā, devoted to the Bhagavān (Viṣṇu) was the regent on behalf of her infant son, Śrī Yuvarāja Divākarasena ; what became of Divākara, whether he died young or changed his name into that of Pravarasena II is not known. She was devoted to the God of Śrī Parvata (Śrī Śailam in the Kurnool district) and is said to have sent daily to the idol a garland of jasmine (*mallika*) flowers. Pravarasena II was a *paramamāheśvara*, 'greater worshipper of Śiva', extended his empire and probably founded a new capital, named after him Pravarapura. From there he issued a copper-plate grant, in the 18th year of his reign, giving the village of Carmanika (now Cammak in the Bhōjakaṭaka, lit., fort of the Bhōjas near Ilichpur, East Berar) to a community of Caturvedis (i.e. Brāhmaṇas of the four Vedas), of several *gōtras*; In the same year he gave another grant, this time from his victorious office of justice (*vaijayikē dharmma sthānē*)[1]. Another copper plate grant of this king issued in his 23rd year is remarkable for being dated in the old Āndhra and Pallava style in *pakṣas* of the seasons and not in the lunar months, like the other two inscriptions of this king and of the Gupta kings. He was probably the author of a *Sētubandh* mentioned by Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa.[2] His dominions were extensive. On

1. G.I., p. 246.
2. H.C., p. 3.

the north his power extended to the Narmadā and the Mahānadī; on the east upto Raipur; in the South-east his vassals—the Viṣṇukuṇḍis ruled over the Vengi district; in the South-west the Bhimā separated it from Kuntala, where the Kadambas reigned; and on the west the Traikūṭakas ruled in Aparānta, just beyond the Vākāṭaka territory. He was succeeded by a minor son, in whose time the family fortune sank, but Narendrasena, the second son 'appropriated the family fortune', *i.e.* usurped the throne and 'raised the sunken family.' He married Ajjhitā Bhattarikā, a Kuntala princess, probably the daughter of Kākusthavarma (*c.* 450 A.D.) His son, Pṛthvisena II was a Paramabhāgavata. His commands were obeyed by the lords of (South) Kosala (possibly the region near the source of the Narmadā), and Mālwā.

The Śālaṅkāyana king in the beginning of the century was Mahārāja Candavarma who like other early Pallava princes calls himself *bappa bhaṭṭāraka pāda bhakta*, 'devoted to the feet of the Lord Bappa,' and also *Kaliṅgādhipati*. A copper plate grant of Canda was issued from Vijayasimhapura, now Singapuram near Chicacole (Ganjām district).[1] Nandivarma II, his son, used a mixture of Prākrit and Sanskrit in his inscription and also called himself *bhagavaccitrarthasvāmipādānudhyātah*, 'he who meditates at the feet of the blessed Lord Citrarathasvāmi (of Mahēndragiri in Ganjām district.)[2]

The Viṣṇukuṇḍi dynasty[3] of Vengi supplanted that of the Śālaṅkāyanas, in the latter half of the V century A.D.

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1. E I., iv, p. 144.

Note :—Mr. D.C. Sircar makes a distinction between this Candavarma and the Śalaṅkāyana king of the same name who was the father of Nandivarma II. See J.D.L., xxvi, pp. 63-65. *Ed.*

2. I.A., v, p. 176.

3. Scholars are not agreed about the geneology and chronology of this dynasty. See J.D.L., xxvi, pp. 84-118. *Ed.*

It was founded by Mādhavavarma, who married a Vākāṭaka princess and with the help of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II seized the Telugu country. Mādhava 'meditated on the feet of the Bhagavacchriparvatasvami, theGod of Śrī Śailam in the Kurnool district. His son was Vikramendra " whose birth was embellished by the two families of the Viṣṇukuṇḍis and Vākāṭakas," his mother being a Vākāṭaka princess.[1] His son Indravarma (also Indrabhaṭṭārakavarma) "encountered in a *lac* of battles numerous four-tusked (elephants)." The four tusked elephant being that of Indra, the allusion here is to an attack on the Viṣṇukuṇḍi king by Indravarma of Kaliṅga and others. He was evidently victorious for in his 27th year he gave away an *agrahāra*.[2]

The Cāḷukya family was, according to a tradition recorded in the XI cent. A. D. founded by Vijayāditya, an adventurer from Ayōdhyā, who lost his life in a fight with Trilōcana Pallava (*c*. 400 A.D.). Vijayāditya's queen who was pregnant at the time took refuge in the village of Muḍivemu, now Peddamudiem in the Cudappa district, with a Brāhmaṇa of the name of Viṣṇubhatta Somayāji and gave birth to a posthumous son named Viṣṇuvarddhana; when he grew up Viṣṇuvarddhana conquered the Kadambas, Gaṅgas and others and established his rule. He married a Pallava princess and was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya (*c.* 450 A.D.)[3]. This account is narrated in various other inscriptions of a date just after 1000 A.D. It is not reasonable to doubt its truth merely because it was not recorded earlier.

The chief Kadamba kings of the V century were Raghu and Kākustha, sons of Bhāgīratha. These kings

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1. E.I., iv, p. 197.
2. E.I., xii, p. 136.
3. S. I. I., I, p. 58.

were in constant conflict with their neighbours, the Gaṅgas of Talakkad and Paugi, who shared with them the rule of the Kannada country. Raghu "in fearful battles (probably with the Gaṅgas), his face slashed by the swords of the enemy, struck down the adversaries facing him."[1] During Raghu's sovereignty his brother Kākustha ruled at Palāśikā (Halsi, Belgaum Dt.) as *Yuvarājā* (*c.* 420 A D.) and granted a field to his general, (*Senāpati*) Śrutakīrti.[2] To Kākusthavarma, "war with the stronger.......... was the rational ornament of the ruler." He gave his daughters "in marriage to the Guptas". This refers to the marriage of Narendrasena, the Vākāṭaka king, who was the grandson of Prabhāvatī, daughter of Candra Gupta II. Kakustha caused to be made at Sthanakundura (Talagunda in the Shimoga distsict of Mysore province) a tank (*taḍākam*) near the temple of Bhava (Śiva) where 'Śatakarni and other pious kings' worshipped.[3] His son Śāntivarma who wore 'three fillets' got Kubja to compose a neat little *Kāvya* on the history of the Kadambas from Mayūraśarma onwards and caused it to be engraved on a pillar erected near in front of the temple (*c.* 450 A.D.). During Śāntivarma's time, his cousins ruled as feudatories at Halsi. His son was Vijaya Śrī Mṛgēśavarma, Mahārāja. He uprooted the lofty (*tuṅga*) Gaṅga family and was a fire of destruction to the Pallavas.[4] He gave several grants to "the supreme Arhats". He was succeeded by his brother Vijayasiva Māndhāta, Dharmamahārāja. In a Tamil poem of the age, a Cēra king of the name of Nedunjeral Adan is said to have sailed to an island where was planted the Kadamba tree, the symbol of its sovereign. This may have taken place in the reign of one of these kings.

1. E.I., vii, p. 35.
2. I.A., vi, p. 23.
3. E.I., vii, pp. 35-6.
4. I. A., vi, p. 24.

The Bāṇas continued to flourish in this century. They called themselves 'Lords of Nandagiri' (Nandidrug in Kolār Dt.) and their traditional capital was Parivipura (perphaps Parigi in the Anantapur District). In the Tamil inscriptions of a later period their territory is called Perumbanappadai, of which the river Pālār was the Southern boundary, which comprised the North Arcot and Kolār Districts. Tiruvallam in the North Arcot Dt. was called Vanapuram and was perhaps their actual capital. There were often wars with the Western Gaṅgas and Parivipura passed into the hands of the Gaṅgas in the V and VI centuries.

At Palakkada, already in the time of Samudra-Gupta there was reigning a king, independent of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. In the V century, there was a line of Pallava kings, whose grants were issued from Palakka or several camps of victory. Even after the city and the district of Kāñcī had passed under the rule of Karikāla, the Cōḷa, they retained the titles of 'Lord of Kāñcī' and 'Performer of *Aśvamedha*,' inherited from ŚivaSkandavarma, and the prestige of that descent. They ruled over the wrecks of the Āndhra Empire, called Kammarāṣtra, (Ongole), Mundarāṣtra (Guntur), and Vengirāṣtra (Kristnā Dt.). A Jaina book called *Lokavibhāga* was copied by a monk called Sarvanandi, as the copyist says in the 22nd year of Mahārāja Simhavarma, Saka 380. This king then must have reigned from 437 to 460 A.D. He was succeded by Skandavarma.

The Western Gaṅga family had in the latter half of the IV century risen to power in South Mysore, next to the Kadamba dominions. The neighbouring kings i.e. the (Western) Gaṅgas and the Kadambas were constantly at war with each other, and the Pallava kings helped the Gaṅgas as against

the Kadambas. Didiga who was also called Koṅgaṇivarma *Dharma Mahādhirāja* was the earliest Gaṅga king of this century and his province was called Gaṅgavādi 96,000 (*i.e.* of 96,000 villages). He reigned at Talakkad on the Kāvēri, about 28 miles S.E. of Mysore. The Gaṅgas belonged to an ancient Kannada (or as the Tamils then called them Vaduga) family, but Āryanized. His successor, Mādhavavarma, was 'an able exponent and demonstrator of the science of polity.' His son Āryavarma (Harivarma) was duly installed on the throne by Simhavarma II, 'the lord of the prosperous Pallava family' (*c.* 455 A.D.). His son, Mādhava Mahādhirāja (II), who was also called Simhavarma, after the Pallava patron of his father, was 'the banner of the *Gāṅgēya* family,' and was duly installed on the throne by the illustrious Pallava Skandavarma III (*c.* 475 A.D.)[1]

In Tamil India the Cōḷa power declined after Karikāl's death, when his sons divided the empire among themselves. In early Tamil poems occur the names of a number of Cōḷa, Cēra and Pāṇḍiya chiefs all of whom patronized poets and are gratefully alluded to, though seldom named in short odes composed in the period.

iii. Sixth century.

Bhānu Gupta continued to wield what remained of Gupta power. He had constant trouble with the Hūṇas who had settled in the Panjāb and Eastern Mālwā. In 510 A.D. he accompanied Gōparāja, and fought a "famous battle", presumably with the Hūṇas at Ēraṇ

1. For fuller details, and a slightly different geneology and chronolagy, see G.T., Ch. II. Here Harivarma is said to have been succeeded by Viṣṇugopa, who in his turn was followed by Mādhava II. *Ed.*

(Sāgar district of the Central provinces). Gōparāja "went to heaven."

The minor branch of the Gupta family was now represented by Mahārājādhirāja Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya.

In 502 A. D. Mihiragula succeeded his father Tōramāṇa, with Sakala (Siālkōṭ in the Panjāb) as capital. He had "governed the earth" as supreme lord for 15 years, when one Mātṛicēṭa erected on Gōpagiri (Gwalior) a "stone temple, the chief among the best of temples, of the Sun."[1] His power so far outshone that of other monarchs that Jaina writers have fixed the year 502 A.D. as marking the end of the Gupta empire. Mihiragula, called Kalki by Jaina writers, is described by them as a great tyrant. "He was foremost among wicked men, a perpetrator of sinful deeds. He oppressed the world. He asked his ministers whether there were any people on the earth, who did not owe allegiance to him; the reply was, none but the *Nirgranthas*. He therefore issued an edict that the first lump of food offered to the Jaina community of *Nirgranthas* at noon every day by the pious people should be levied as a tax. The Jaina *Nirgranthas* are allowed by the rules of their religion to take their meal at noon once a day. If any difficulty occurs at that hour, they must wait for their meal till noon on the following day. The result of the tyrant Kalkirāja's edict was that the *Nirgranthas* were exposed to utter starvation."[2] Yuan Chwang says that Bālāditya hearing of the atrocities of Mihiragula refused to pay him tribute. Mihiragula proceeded against Bālāditya, who took him prisoner and resolved to kill him for his crimes. Then Bālāditya's

1. G.I., p. 163.

2. *Ib.*, p. 215.

mother who had heard that Mihiragula was of "remarkable beauty and vast wisdom," intervened and commanded her son not to kill him but to give him a small kingdom in the north to rule over. Then Bālāditya "gave him in marriage to a young maiden and treated him with extreme courtesy." Mihiragula having lost his royal estate, sought an asylum in Kāśmīr. He then assassinated the king of Kāśmīr.[1] This is a legend invented to eulogize the merits of the Buddhist Bālāditya and to decry Mihiragula. Bālāditya was succeeded by his son, called Kumāra Gupta.[2]

In Baghelkhand the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hasti continued to rule in the VI century A.D. and he gave villages to certain Brāhmaṇas in 511 A.D. "during the sovereignty of Gupta *nṛipatis*." Hasti's status was high enough to justify his employing a minister of peace and war (*mahāsandhivigrahika*) and a general-in-chief (*mahābalādhikṛta*).[3] Three years previous to this a boundary-pillar (*valayayaṣṭi*) was erected to mark the boundary between his dominions and those of a neighbouring *mahārāja*.[4] He was succeeded by his son Sankṣobha, who described his father as "the giver of thousands of cows, and elephants, and horses, and gold, and many lands" and his kingdom as Dabhala (later Dahala, Bundelkhand) and the 18 forest kingdoms.

In about 530 A.D. arose a great hero, Yaśōdharma, "lord of men" (*jannēdrah*), "who, having plunged into the army of (his) enemies, as if into a grove of thorn-apple trees, (and) having bent down the reputations of

1. B. R. W. W., I. pp. 168-171.
2. This identification of Yuan chwang's Bālāditya with the father of Kumār Gupta is not accepted by Raychaudhari. See P. H. A. I., pp. 363-364. *Ed.*
3. G. I., p. 109.
4. G. I., p. 112.

heroes like the tender creepers of trees, effects the adornments of (his) body with the fragments of young sprouts which are the wounds (*inflicted on him*). This same king of men (*narādhipati*) Śrī Viṣṇuvarddhana, the conqueror in war, by whom his own famous lineage, which has the *aulikara*-crest, has been brought, to a state of dignity that is ever higher and higher. By him, having brought into subjection, with peaceful overtures and by war, the very mighty kings of the east and many of the north, this second name of *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*..........is carried on high."[1] This eulogy, dated 533 A.D., refers to his rise to supremacy in the region around the Vindhyas. Very soon he went against the Hūṇas and the Guptas. "Spurning (*the confinement of*) the boundaries of his own house", he acquired "those countries, thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes, having (*their*) kings assaulted by (*his*) prowess, which were not enjoyed (*even*) by the lords of the Guptas, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole earth, which the command of the chiefs of the Hūṇas, that established itself on the tiaras of (*many*) kings, failed to penetrate." In other words, he extinguished the Hūṇa and the Gupta empires and brought kings beyond their control under subjection. "Before his feet chieftains.........bow down from the neighourhood of the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) upto Mahēndra (hill in Ganjām), the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra trees, from the mountain of snow, the tablelands of which are embraced by the Gaṅgā, upto the western Ocean..........To his two feet respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of (*his*) head, by even that (*famous*) king Mihirakula

1. G. I., pp. 155-6.

(Sanskrit form of Mihiragula, sun-flower) whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of (*his*) arm in (*the act of compelling*) obeisance."[1] The inscription is a little *kāvya*, composed by Vāsula, and is incised on a pillar erected in Mandasōr. Yaśōdharma's extinction of the Gupta line took place in about 535 A.D. for a copper-plate grant dated 534 A.D. relating to the purchase of a piece of uncultivated land by a nobleman for the purpose of repairing and conducting daily worship in a temple, found in Pundravarddhana, probably belongs to the time of Bhānu Gupta, though the corner of the plate containing his personal name is broken off. This shows that his sway continued in Bengal upto 534 A.D.[2]

Mihiragula was given by Yaśōdharma the kingdom of Kāśmīr to rule. The Hūṇa king made war on Gāndhāra and inflicted cruelties on the people there. He died probably in 542 A.D. A Chinese traveller Sung Yun tells us that he fought for three years in Kāśmīr. He "has 700 war-elephants, each of which carries ten men armed with sword and spear, while the elephants are armed with swords attached to their trunks, with which to fight when at close quarters. The king continually abode with his troops on the frontier, and never returned to his kingdom, in consequence of which the old man had to labour and the common people were oppressed."[3]

A new dynasty was founded in Sindh in 495 A.D., which lasted for 137 years, whose history is dealt with in Muhammadan chronicles. The first king of this line was Rāī Diwaij (Dipaditya ?) His capital was Alōr and the boundaries of his country were "on the east Kāśmīr and

1. G. I., pp. 147-8.
2. E. I., xv, p. 144.
3. B. R. W. W., Intro., p. c.

Kanauj; on the west Makrān and the shore of the sea of Uman, that is, the port of Debal; on the south the port of Surat (Surāṣṭra); and on the north, Kandahār, Sistān, the hills of Sulaimān and Kaikānān." Diwaij was a powerful chief. "He formed alliances with most of the rulers of Hind and throughout all his territories caravans travelled in perfect security." His son, Rāī Siharas (Simharaja) "followed the steps of his father in maintaining his position in happiness, comfort and splendour, during a long reign." His son Rāī Sāhasī Shahi "also swayed the sceptre with great pomp and power. He followed the institutions of his ancestors, and accomplished all desires." His son was Siharas II. During his reign Khusru Anushirwan of Persia invaded the borders of Sindh. The contact with India thus established led his physician Burdoe to translate the *Pancatantra* into the Pahlavi language and thence into Syriac by Bud (570 A.D.). Of this king the *Cacanāmā* says, "he had established four *maliks* or governors, in his territories," at Brahmanābād, Siwistān, Askalanda, and Multān. "He enjoined on every one of his princes the necessity of being prepared for war, by keeping the implements of warfare, arms and horses ready..........Suddenly by the decree of God, the army of the king of Nimroz marched from Fars to Makrān When Siharas heard this he went forth from the fort of Alōr, haughty in mind and careless in heart, with the main part of his army to encounter him. They joined battle, and........the Persian army............put to flight the army of Siharas. He himself stood firm fighting for his name and honour, until he was killed."[1] This occured at about the end of the VI century A.D. Then R āi Sāhasī, his son, sat upon his throne.

The Maukharis as well as the new **Guptas of Magadha** mentioned in the last section increased in power in the

1. E.H.I. (Elliot and Dowson) I, pp. 138-139.

VI century. Mahārāja Īśvaravarma, son of Ādityavarma ruled in the beginning of the century. He married Bhaṭṭārikā Dēvī Upaguptā. He "qualified his high bravery with political wisdom."[1] At the same time Jivita Gupta, son of Harṣa Gupta ruled over Magadha. His son Kumāra Gupta came into conflict with Īśānavarma, son of Īśvaravarma. "By Kumāra Gupta, playing the part of Mandara (mountain), there was quickly churned that formidable milk-ocean.........which was the army of Śrī Iśānavarma." But Kumāra Gupta being defeated burnt himself on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Iśānavarma also fought with the Hūṇas (the army of Mihiragula) and his "proudly stepping array of mighty elephants threw aloft in battle the troops of the Hūṇas". Kumāra Gupta's son, Dāmodara Gupta fought with Iśāna to avenge his father's death, but died on the battle field, and in the euphemistic language of the record, he "became unconscious."[2] Iśānavarma's own inscription says that "being victorious and having princes bending at his feet, (he) occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the Āndhras, who had thousands of three fold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Śūlikas, who had an army of countless galloping horses, and after causing the Gauḍas, living on the sea-shore, in future to remain within their proper realm"[3] The lord of the Āndhras is also mentioned in an illegible inscription of the same time as having taken refuge with his warriors in the crevices of the Vindhya mountains;[4] he was probably Govindavarma, the Viṣṇukuṇḍi monarch. The Śūlikas were probably in the

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1. E.I., xiv, p. 119.
2. G.I., p. 206.
3. E.I. xiv, p. 120.
4. G.I., p. 230.

Raychaudhari thinks that the Āndhra King was probably Mādhavavarma II of the Viṣṇukuṇḍi family. See P. H. A. I., p. 370, *Ed.*

southeast near Vidarbha or Kaliṅga. The king of Gauḍa was probably a king of North Kaliṅga. As he was a great conqueror and made many states subject to his sway he assumed the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, whereas his ancestors were merely, ***Mahārājas***. He was succeded by his son, Śarvavarma. He inherited a vast dominion; therefore the Guptas of Magadha, finding that the chances of expansion to the west were small, turned east. Mahāsēnagupta, son of Dāmodara Gupta propitiated the newly risen family of Ādityavarddhana, Mahārāja of Thānesvar, by giving his sister Mahāsēna Guptā Dēvī in marriage to him. Her son was Prabhākaravarddhana, father of Harṣavarddhana. Mahāsēna Gupta then invaded Kāmarūpa and defeated Susthitavarma and acquired fame sung for a long time "on the banks of the Lohitya, the surfaces of which are cool, by the Siddhas in pairs".[1]

Princes of the family of the Guptas also went about subjugating Karnasuvarna, Mahā Kosala (South Kosala) and North Kaliṅga. The king of Karnasuvarna at the end of the century was Śaśānka. Vasisthiputra Mahārāja Śrī Śaktivarma (another) ornament of the Gupta family of Magadha, became lord of Kaliṅga and carried his victorious arms as far as Piṣṭhapura in the Gōdāvarī district, thus disorganizing the rule of the Eastern Gaṅgas.[2]

In Pragjyotisa (Kāmarūpa, Assam), however, the *varma* dynasty continued to rule. Sthitavarma was followed by Susthitavarma, *alias* Sri Mṛganika, he by Supratisthitavarma. The last was a patron of the learned.[3]

1. G.I., p. 206.
2. E.I., xii, p. 2.
3. E.I., xii, pp. 77-8,

In Kongodha (the central districts of Kaliṅga), there was a Pulindasēna, "famous among the peoples of Kaliṅga"; though endowed with many excellent qualities (a lofty stature, strong arms, a broad chest, *etc.*,) he did not covet sovereignty himself, but prayed to the Lord (*bhagavān*) to create a fit ruler for the land. He created, Śailōdbhava, who founded a new royal house. The legend means perhaps that it was a family of hill-men. In this list of the kings of this family the names Sainyabhīta and Yaśobhīta occur with perplexing regularity. One of them, probably a Sainyabhīta, was also called *Rajendra* Mādhavendra, as well as Mādhavaraja I who "worshipped the Brāhmaṇas" and gave a village to one Vāmana Bhaṭṭa.[1] When the century ended, the Śailodbhavas became the feudatories of the kings of Karṇasuvarṇa.

Gaṅga Kings continued to rule in South Kaliṅga, now and then conquered or dominated by the Guptas who had acquired power in North Kaliṅga. Like other members of the dynasty they were devotees of Gokarnesvara of Mahendragiri and frequently gave villages to Gods and Brāhmaṇas.

A line of kings who called themselves rajarṣitulya, 'like royal ascetics' (in partial imitation of the title *rajarṣi* assumed by Candra Gupta II), ruled in Mahākosala. The first king of this line was Sura. This dynasty used the Gupta era.

The Maitrakas, who claimed to belong to a pure Kṣatriya family, established a kingdom at Valabhī (now called Walā, in Kāṭhiāwāḍ), in the very beginning of the century. The founder of the dynasty was Bhaṭāraka, who like Puṣyamitra, seven centuries before his time, called himself a *Sēnāpati*. The decline of Gupta power at the end of the V century on account of Tōramāṇa's

1. E.I., iii. p. 42.

victory was the immediate occasion of Bhaṭāraka's acquiring "the Goddess of royalty through the strength of his array of (his) hereditary servants and friends." Whether the relations between Bhaṭāraka and Tōramāṇa were friendly or otherwise is not known. His first son was *Sēnāpati* Dharasēna I; the latter's younger brother, Drōṇasimha assumed the title of *Mahārāja*. His installation in the royalty by besprinkling (*abhiṣeka*) was performed by the paramount master in person.[1] Who this 'paramount master' was it is difficult to say. He was succeeded by his brothers, one after another, Dhruvasēna I (526-540 A.D.) and Dharapaṭṭa. Guhasēna, son of the last, ruled from *c.* 556 A.D. to *c.* 570 A.D. His son Dharasēna II ruled from 570 to about the end of the century.

Like the Maitrakas of Valabhī, another Kṣatriya clan, that of Garulaka, ruled in the VI century in Palirana, Kāṭhiāvāḍ. The first chief was Varahadesa I *Sēnāpati*, the next his son Sāmanta-Mahārāja Bhattisura, both being doughty warriors. The latter's brother was Sāmanta-Mahārāja Varahadasa II, who overcame the lord of Dvārakā.

The Gurjaras were another Kṣatriya family who rose to prominence late in the century. They have been regarded by some as foreigners, on the very inadequate ground that their name is associated with that of the Hūṇas in a few inscriptional and literary references. The bulk of Kṣatriyas took to agricultural pursuits when the profession of arms was not open to them; hence a large number of the Gurjaras (Gujars) to-day are tillers of land. In Tamil poems of this age the Gurjars are referred to as expert craftsmen. One of the Gurjara lines now started was that which was settled at Bhilmal on Mount Ābū.

1. G.I., pp. 167-8.

Another was that of the Gurjaras of Broach, founded by th *Sāmanta* Dadda who ejected some Nāga tribes near the place and established his rule.[1] (550 A.D.) He was a worshipper of the Sun. He and his followers used the Kalacuri era which had prevailed in the province before the rule of the Gurjara *Sāmantas* began. Though they called themselves *Sāmantas*, they were not feudatories of any king.

In the Vākāṭaka empire Harisena, great grandson in the senior line of Pravarasena II began to rule in the beginning of the century A.D. His sway extended in all directions. He extinguished the Traikūṭaka dynasty; and Kuntala (the Kadamba kingdom), Avanti, Kaliṅga (the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom), Kosala and Āndhra (the Viṣṇukuṇḍi kingdom)-all acknowledged his sway. In his time several of the Ajanta caves were excavated and the famous frescoes were painted. After his death the Vākāṭaka empire vanished from Indian history.

The Kalacuris or Kalacuri dynasty succeeded to the control of the western part of the Vākāṭaka empire (Lāṭa and the region of Nāsik). The district of Lāṭa (South Gujarāt) was "pleasing with the choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (*their*) flowers, and with temples and assembly halls of the gods, and with *vihāras* (*and*) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation,"[2] as described in an inscription of the V century. The Kalacuris took over their era from the Traikūṭakas and in their turn handed it over to the Gurjaras of Bharukaccha, when the Cedis adopted it. Kṛṣṇarāja was the first king of this dynasty which claimed descent from the Haihayas of the Vedic age. His power soon increased so as to obtain imperial status, and his "feet were worshipped

1. I. A., xiii pp. 85, 90.

2. G. I., p. 84.

by the whole circle of the earth." His son Śankaragaṇa succeeded him. Śankaragaṇa is described by his son as the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western seas and of other lands.[1] Buddharāja succeeded him; his territory shrank and he ruled over Lāṭa since Dadda I arose. Mangalīśa of the house of the Western Cāḷukyas of Bādāmī then rising to power attacked and defeated Buddharāja *c.* 590 A.D.[2] But the defeat does not appear to have been a serious one; for Buddharāja issued a grant in 609 A.D. 'from the victorious camp (Vijayaskandhavarat) of Vidiśa (Besnagar near Bhilsa).[3] Soon after this the power of the Kalacuri dynasty was entirely eclipsed by that of the Cāḷukyas.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍis continued to rule at Lendalura, capital of the Vengi territory. Mahārāja Vikramendra Varma II, son of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, in the 10th year of his reign (*c.* 520 A.D.) gave a village to a temple of Tryambaka (Śiva) on the banks of the Kṛṣṇabenna (the Kṛṣṇā).[4] His son Govindavarma was probably the Lord of the Āndhras defeated by Iśānavarma the Maukhara monarch. The last king of this house was Mādhavavarma II. He crossed the river Godāvarī with a desire to conquer 'the eastern region' (the Southern districts of South Kalinga);[5] but the Viṣṇukuṇḍi rule was soon quenched by the Western Cāḷukyas.

A family of Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings succeeded the Vākāṭakas in the Central provinces with Acalapura (now Ilichpur) as capital. The first king was Durgarāja; his successor was Gōvindarāja.[6]

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1. E. I., vi, p. 299.
2. I. A., vii, p. 162.
3. E. I., xii, pp. 33-4
4. E. I., iv, p. 194.
5. A. H., D., p. 92.
6. E. I., xi, p. 279.

Minor dynasties that ruled in the first half of the VI century were that of (1) the Naḷas in the Nalavàdi *viṣaya*, Bellāry district north of the Āndhrapatha of the Mahābāṇas and (2) the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ with their capital at Puri, 'the Goddess of fortune of the Western Ocean.' The latter are referred to in early Tamil literature as raiding, along with the Kosa tribes (who founded the town of Coimbatore, Koyambuttur) and Vaḍugar (Kannada clans), the borders of the Tamil country.[1]

The Kadamba king in the beginning of the VI century was Ravivarma, son of Mṛgēśa. He conquered Viṣṇuvarma, his relation ruling at Palāśikā, who defied his authority; he also defeated a Caṇḍadaṇḍa, a petty Pallava chief, who called himself, like all other Pallavas, the lord of Kāñcī.[2] *Mahārāja* Ravivarma also gave grants to Jainas. He established at Palāśikā, and made provision for the annual celebration of an eight-days' festival of the God Jinendra.[3] The later Kadamba kings though officially worshippers of Kārttikeya, patronized the Jaina gods and Vedic scholarship. The next king was Harivarma (acc. 538 A.D.) who gave grants to the Jainas.[4] He was defeated by Pulakeśin I (*c.* 550 A D.). Kṛṣṇavarma of the branch of the Kadambas who ruled at Palāśikā succeeded him. He was the brother-in-law of Mādhava of the Gaṅga dynasty. He was defeated by Kīrtivarman, the Western Cāḷukya. *c.* 570 A.D. His grandson, Bhogivarma ruled at the end of the century.[5] Kadamba rule disappeared with the expansion of the empire of the Bādāmī Cāḷukyas; but the family lasted for a long time.

1. H. T., p. 522.
2. I. A., vi p. 30.
3. I. A., vi, p. 27.
4. I. A., vi, pp. 30-31.
5. M. A. R., 1918, p. 40.

The Cāḷukyas slowly rose to eminence in this century. Their early kings were named Jayasimha and his son Raṇarāga, respectively meaning 'the lion of victory' and 'he who delights in war;' probably they had to fight hard to keep up their status. In the earliest inscriptions of the dynasty, Jayasimha is called *Vallabhendra*, 'Lord of favourites', and Vallabha became title of the members of this dynasty. His son Mahārāja Pulakeśin I, ascended the throne (*c*. 550 A.D.); the title Mahārāja indicated paramount power then in South India. He bore the titles of *Satyāśraya*, the asylum of truth, '*Raṇavikrama*, the valorous in war' and *Śrī Vallabha*, 'the favourite of the earth.' Pulakeśin fixed his capital at Bādāmī, (Vātāpi, in the Bijapur District), perhaps capturing it from the Kadambas. His eldest son, Kīrtivarman I became Mahārāja (*c*. 567). His titles were *Vallabha*, *Pṛthvivallabha*, and *Puru-Raṇaparākrama*, 'puissant in war as Puru,' also *Satyāśraya*. He is also called *Vātāpyāh prathama vidhātā*, 'the first maker of Vātāpi',[1] probably because he adorned it with temples, like the Viṣṇu temple at Bādāmī. He was called "a night of death to the Naḷas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas."[2] So he extended his dominion all round the region of Bādāmī. But another inscription indulges in high-flown hyperbole and makes him defeat the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga (E. and W. Bengal), Kaḷiṅga, Vaṭṭūra Magadha, Madraka, Kēraḷa, Gaṅga, Muśaka, Pāṇḍiya, Dramiḷa (Kāñcī), Cōḷiya, Āḷuka and Vaijayantī.[3] This is a mixture of fact and mere courtly compliment; of this list he could have met only the kings of Vaṭṭūra, Āḷuka and Vaijayantī. He died *c*. 591 A.D. He was succeeded by his brother, Maṅgalīśa, who had as titles

1. E. I., iii, p. 51.
2. E. I., vi, p. 8.
3. I. A., xix, p. 17.

Raṇavikrānta, 'valorous in war,' besides the usual Cāḷukya titles of *Pṛthvivallabha* and *Śrī Pṛthvivallabhendra*, 'chief of the favourites of the earth'. He was a *paramabhāgavata*, 'supreme devotee of Viṣṇu'. In the 12th year of his brother's reign he caused the Bādāmī caves to be made and cut an inscription which is dated when "five hundred years of the royal installation of the Śaka king had expired" (*Śakanṛpatirājyābhiṣeka samvatsarēṣvatikrānteṣu pancaṣu śatēṣu*).[1] This is the first clear description of the occasion of the starting of the Śaka era. He defeated the Kalatsuri (Kalacuri) king Buddha (rāja) and acquired his dominion (*c.* 600 A.D.)[2]. He died *c.* 610 A.D. in the course of a civil war between himself and his nephew Pulakeśin II, brought on by an attempt to secure the succession for his own son in violation of the rights of the proper heir, Pulakeśin II, the son of Kīrtivarman I.

At Talakkad the **Western Gaṅga** king at the beginning of the VI century was Mahādhirāja Viṣṇugopa, a pious king who spent all his time worshipping Brāhmaṇa teachers and deities and meditating on the feet of Nārāyaṇa. His son and successor, Mādhava III Mahādhirāja was devotee of Śiva. He married the sister of the contemporary king Kṛṣṇavarma, 'the sun of the sky which is the Kadamba family.' Mādhava's son was Mahādhirāja Avanita Kongani, who ruled to the end of the century.[3]

1. I. A., vi, p. 363.

2. *Ibid*, vii, p. 162.

3. The chronology of the early Western Gaṅga Kings is highly controversial. The scheme adopted here differs from that followed in G. T. As a matter of fact both are tentative. *Ed.*

The Pallavas regained Kāñcī during the reign of one Kumāra Viṣṇu. His son Buddhavarma was "the submarine fire to the ocean-like army of the Cōḷas." In the last quarter of the VI century reigned Simhaviṣṇu. "He quickly seized the country of the Cōḷas, embellished by the daughter of Kāvēri, whose ornaments are the forests of paddy (*fields*) and where (*are found*) brilliant groves of areca (*palms*)."[1] Simhaviṣṇu reorganized the government of the Cōḷa country, changing it from the primitive Tamil methods to the Āryan ones, for we find a group of hamlets in the Tanjore district, brought under the administration of a Simhaviṣṇucaturvedimangalam. He was also called Avaniviṣṇu (the lion of the earth), "who vanquished the Māḷava (Māḷava Naidu, north of the Kāvēri), the Kaḷabhra (who were reigning (?), Cōḷa, and Pāṇḍiya kings, the Simhala (king) who was proud of the strength of his arms and the Keraḷas."[2] Of this list the conquest of the Cōḷa land is alone true. Simhaviṣṇu died about 600 A.D.

In the Tamil country there was no king of outstanding ability in this century. The names of a large number of Cōḷa, Cēra, and Pāṇḍiya kings and also of petty chiefs, who generally fought with each other and patronized bards are gratefully recorded in old sonnets. The very number of the names of the kings and chiefs shows that the country had an inglorious political history during this period. The Kaḷabhras too had lost their ascendancy. The Cōḷa house entirely lost its dominions and Simhaviṣṇu the Pallava annexed the Cōḷa *viṣaya*. In the Pāṇḍiya country there was confusion till about the end of the century. Kaḍungōn Pāṇḍiyan evolved order out of the

1. S. I. I., ii, p. 510.
2. S. I. I., ii, p. 349.
The first word Māḷava was erroneously amended to Malaya by the editor of the inscription.

chaos and regained for the Pāṇḍiya family the right of ruling the Earth.[1] In the Cēra country an unbroken series of kings ruled and were constantly engaged in wars with the petty Tamil chiefs around. All of them are the heroes of a series of Tamil odes.

2. Cultural activities

(300 A.D. to 600 A.D.)

The official religion of the country was that of the Vedas. The Vedas were believed by the bulk of the people to be the supreme self-revealed Holy Book, so much so that even the non-Vedic systems of worship that had in the actual life of the people superseded the Vedic ritual almost completely were believed to be ultimately based on the *Śruti*, and scholars tried to find a basis for Āgama theories and practices in stray Vedic or pseudo—Vedic texts. Not that the Vedic rites did not take place off and on. The less costly ones, like the imitation of the holy fire (*aganāidhāna*) and the *Somayāga*, were performed by the Brāhmaṇas, especially by the more learned among them; and the *Gṛhya* rites were observed strictly by all of them. Monarchs, who in this age, sprung from castes lower than Kṣatriya, celebrated the greater rites frequently and thus secured elevation to the Kṣatriya status. The best-known example is the *aśvamedha* of Samudra Gupta, to which far too much importance has been attached by recent writers. Many others celebrated this and other royal Vedic rites in this period, as revealed by the Purāṇas and the inscriptions so far recovered. Thus Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka performed, many sacrifices, such as the *vājapēya* and four *aśvamedhas*.

1. E. I., xvii, p. 306,

The Bhāraśivas celebrated ten *aśvamedhas*. The Maukhari Iśvaravarma is described as performer of sacrifices.[1] Daharasena, the Traikūṭaka offered an *aśvamedha*. Mādhava the Viṣṇukuṇḍī is said to have performed eleven *aśvamedhas*, a hundred thousand *bahusuvarṇa*, *pauṇḍarīka*, *puruṣamedha*, *vājapeya*, *yūdhya*, (?), *ṣōḍaśi*, *rājasūya*, *prādhirājya*, *prājāpatya* and various other *Yajñas* and a *sarvamedha*.[2] His son, Vikramendra offered eleven horse sacrifices and thousands of others.[3] There must have been some foundation in fact for these exaggerated statements. Apparently the *aśvamedha* that could be done a dozen times, or so, and even by men who had not attained universal sovreignty or great wealth was a cheapened form of the great ceremony. Pulakeśin I of the Cāḷukya dynasty is said to have performed the *agniṣṭōma āgnicayana*, *vājapeya*, *bahusuvarṇa*, *pauṇḍarīka* and *aśvamedha* sacrifices.[4] After Karikāla conquered the Āryanized city of Kāñcī in the IV century A.D., he came under the influence of Brāhmaṇas and he and his descendants began to patronize the Vedic rites. Early in the fifth century the Cōḷas were affiliated to the Solar race and the eulogists also included the magnanimous Śibi (though not of the Solar race) among their ancestors, to stimulate their generosity to poets. They went to the length of deriving the word *śembiyan*, one of the old Tamil titles of the Cōḷas, from Śibi, and *vaḷavan*, another Cōḷa, title, meaning lord of the fertile land 'or' 'flourishing person', from Sans. (*Śrī*) *vallabha*, 'favourite (of fortune)'. In the next century a Pāṇḍiya King of the name of Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi patronized several *yāgas* and

1. E. I., xiv, p. 119.
2. E. I., iv. p. 197.
3. E. I., xii, p. 133-6.
4. I. A., xix, p. 17.

received the appellation of *Palyāgaśālai*, 'he of many sacrificial halls.' An inscription of the VIII century describes how he gave a village to a Brāhmaṇa called Naṟ-Koṟṟan of Koṟkai, the chief Pāṇḍiya port, to help him to finish a sacrifice which he had begun! Karikāl and Mudukuḍumi were not techinically *yajamānas* (offerers) of the sacrifices, for the Tamils in that age were very little Āryanized; they mainly followed their old cults, the kings had but Tamil proper names, unlike the ones of the later thoroughly Āryanized periods; even the Brāhmaṇa sacrificer translated his name into the Tamil form Naṟ-koṟṟan.[1]

Besides the *aśvamedha* which till the end of the IV century A.D.. was celebrated only by monarchs with claims to be overlords of pettier monarchs, other *yajñas* were being performed in this age. Thus one Viṣṇuvarddhana of the Varika tribe, which along with the Yaudheya tribe lived in Rājaputānā, whose ancestors were in ascending order Yaśovarddhana, Yaśorāta and Vyāghrarāta on becoming a *Rāja*, in the year 372 A.D, performed a *puṇḍaika yajña* and on its completion erected a *yūpa* (sacrificial pillar) on the spot.[2] In the city of Kāñcīpura, a city on the borders of the Tamil country, but which had been Āryanized in pre-Christian times, there existed in this age a "*yūpa* at which learned Brāhmaṇas had finished their sacrifice; it looked like a swan-lamp on the mast of the boat of the *yavanas* and turnkled like venus which heralds the down".[3] At the end of the V century A.D. *yūpas* in the Tamil country are referred and the royal umbrella is compared to "the triple fire of the Brāhmaṇas."[4]

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1. E. I., xvii, p. 300.
2. G. I., p. 254.
3. H. T., pp. 389-90.
4. H. T., p. 470.

But at the same time there was rising a sentiment against the wholesale sacrifice of animals. The Vākāṭaka queen, Prabhāvati, gave the village of Daṅguṇa to the Ācārya Canāla Svāmī. Among the immunities, is mentioned one not found in other grant, that of 'not being a place for animal sacrifice', *apaśumēdhyaḥ*. Perhaps this indicates the spirit of antagonism to animal sacrifice fostered by the devotees of Viṣṇu. The village is called *catur vidyāgrahāra* 'village of the four (kinds of) knowledge' (Vedic or Śāstraic, it is not possible to say), a phrase which occurs in inscriptions of a later age.[1]

Notwithstanding the great respect paid to the Veda and the Vedic rites, the living religion of the bulk of the people was the worship of the Āgama gods, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The legends of the human incarnations of the former and fleeting earthly manifestations of the latter and the forms of their consorts had been fully worked out long before this age in the schools of the *Āgamas* and incorporated in the Purāṇas. Though portions of the existing recensions of these books may belong to the Gupta and later periods, the chapters dealing with the cults of Viṣṇu, Śiva, etc., are earlier than the age of the Guptas, for before this time the forms of the idols of these gods had been definitely fixed (and probably descriptions of them embodied in the *Śilpa Sāstras*) and were translated into stone in this age.

The fact that the Guptas from the beginning called themselves supreme devotees of Viṣṇu, *paramabhāgavatas*, itself proves that Viṣṇu temples existed in their time. Another proof is the fact that in 402 A. D. the *Mahārāja* of the Sanakānikas who 'meditated on the feet of Candragupta' II, (*candraguptapādānudhyāta*) gave a

1. E. I., xv, pp. 42.

gift (*dēyadharma*) to the Vaiṣṇava cave-temple of Udayagiri.[1]

In 424 A.D. the counsellor(*nṛpatisaciva*) of Viśvavarmā of Mālwā, by name Mayūrākṣaka caused to be built by his sons a shrine of Viśṇu in Mālwā.[2] Skanda Gupta built a temple of Rāma at Bhitarī in the Ghāzipur district[3] and a pillar in front of it in *c.* 456 A.D. commemorate his defeat of the Hūṇas. In 458 A.D. after the completion of the repairs to the Junāgaḍh lake, his officer Cakrapālita built there a temple to Cakrabhṛt (Viṣṇu, the wielder of the discus.)[4] In 468 A. D. a temple was erected and an image of Anantasvāmi installed in Gaḍhwā in the Allahābād district, and lands were given for providing perfumes, incense garlands, etc, and for repairs.[5] *Mahārāja* Matṛviṣnu, victor in many battles, descendant of scholars and sacrificers, and *Viṣayapati* (provincial governor) of Airikiṇa (Eraṇ) and his brother Dhanyaviṣṇu built a flag-staff (a large monolith column of red sandstone) of Janārdana (Viṣṇu) at Eraṇ.[6] Dhanyaviṣnu built a temple for Viṣṇu in his Varāhāvatāra in the first year of Toramāṇa at Airikiṇa (Eraṇ, in the Sāgar Dt., Central provinces).[7]

Early in the reign of *Paramabhāgavata* Kumāra Gupta, two endowments were made in Gaḍhwā (Allahābād district) for a *sattra* (hall for charitable feeding). Another early work of the reign was the building of a *pratoḷi* (flight of steps), a *sattra* and a pillar at a temple (in a village of United provinces) of Svāmi Mahāsena, who is

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1. G.I., p. 25.
2. G.I., p. 75-76.
3. G.I., pp. 55-6.
4. G.I., pp. 62-65.
5. G.I., p. 268.
6. G.I., p. 89.
7. G I., p. 160.

also called Brahmanya Deva, (the precursor of the modern name, Subrahmṇya). The flight of steps is, in the inscription recording it, compared to the necklace called *Kauberacchandaka*, and the *sattra* is said to be in form like the top part of a temple *i.e.*, of a domical roof (416 A.D.)

In Northern Bengal during the rule of the senior branch of the Gupta family several pieces of land were purchased and given away for providing for the repairs of the Svētavarāha temple and means for the daily temple rites of *bali*, *caru*, (feeding in) *sattra*, *etc*.[1]

In South India Karikāl Cōḷa covered with gold the temple probably of Śiva in Kāñcī. The *Maduraikkāñji*, a Tamil poem of the V century describes the worship conducted in Śiva and Viṣṇu temples situated outside the precincts of Madurā.[2] The Śilappadigāram, a Tamil epic composed in the sixth century B.C., just before the Ārya and Tamil cults coalesced, testifies to the existence of Viṣṇu temples at Tirupati (North Arcot Dt.,) and Śrīrangam (Trichinopoly Dt.) and a few other less known ones.[3]

The Sun-God must have been an object of fireless worship from pre-Vedic times; though no evidence of the prevalence of such worship in temples before the Gupta period is available. When the *Āgamas* were composed, manuals of Sun-worship also arose. From the V to the XV centuries A.D. we meet with examples of Sun-worship and solar temples. When Visvavarmā was ruler of Daśapura (Mandsōr) in Western Mālwā, to that place came from Lāṭa *viṣaya* (province), *i.e.*, Central and Southern Gujarāt attracted by the virtues of the king (Viśvavarmā),

1. E.I., xv. pp. 113-5.
2. H.T., pp. 450-1.
3. H.T., p. 604.

a band of men, archers, astrologers and silk weavers, and settled there. The gild of those silk-weavers built a temple of the Sun in that place in 438 A.D.; part of this temple fell into disrepair during the reign of "other kings" and the gild repaired it in 474 A.D., when Vatsabhaṭṭi composed a beautiful little *kāvya* on the subject, which was engraved on stone.[1]

The last inscription of Paramabhāgavata Mahārājādhirāja Skanda-Gupta's time found so far is the copper-plate recording an endowment by a Brāhmaṇa in 465 A.D. to *the temple of the Sun*, "by having recourse to whom mankind, when they have lost control over themselves through much disease and agitation of mind, acquire consciousness (again)". The temple was situated at Indrapura (Indōr) in the land of Antarvedi ruled over by the *Viṣayapati* Śarvanāga and the endowment was deposited as the perpetual property of the gild of oil-men (*tailika śreṇi*) for supplying daily two *palas* by weight of oil for the lamp established in the temple by two Kṣatriyas, merchants of the place.[2]

The Gods of India were never jealous, except in South India after the X century A.D. So the choice of Gods for worship was a matter of individual preference. Thus, Dhruwasena I of Valabhī was devotee of Viṣṇu. His brother Mahārāja Dharapaṭṭa was a worshipper of the Sun. His son Guhasena was a Māheśvara.[3] It is easy to pick up examples of this mutation of *Bhakti*.

In rivalry to these pseudo-Vedic Āgama cults, the anti-Vedic Āgama cults—Jaina and Bauddha—also flourished. The Jaina and the Bauddha monks had become

1. G.I., pp. 81-84.
2. G.I., p. 71.
3. G.I., pp. 165-166.

regular idol-worshippers, though they kept up their monastic life. The difference between the two cults consisted in this, that the Jaina monks lived still in small institutions, but they associated with what may be called their ecclesiastic-organization a large number of men and women lay disciples (*upāsakās* and *upāsikās*), who thus formed the Jaina laity. Thus the Jaina cult was a regular religion. The Bauddha monks and nuns also lived in huge congregations; they also took disciples, but these were generally candidates for asceticism. Though the ordinary people took part in the Bauddha temple-festivals and honoured the Buddhist gods as well as other gods, they did not form a lay part of the Buddhist church, for Buddhism in India never became a religion, nor did it possess a church organization composed of the clergy and the laity. The statements of Chinese pilgrims about Buddhist kings are but cases of their importing of chinese ideas into their reading of Indian life. Even the Jaina organization was but a loose one, for in India, except after the XI century in Southern India, all people honoured all Gods and there was no religious intolerance. The only name that can be given to the religion of the people as a whole is the name Hindu, given to it by the Muhammadans. The people themselves have not yet realised the necessity for a common name of their conglomerate beliefs. Jaina and Buddhist temples were built in this period, like the other temples. In 461 A.D. at Kakubha grama, (now Kahāum in the Gōrakhpur District) were set up by a Jaina, 'who was specially full of affection for Brāhmaṇas and religious preceptors and ascetics (*dvija guru yatiṣu*), the images of the five favourite Tīrthaṅkaras, and a pillar inscription describing the fact.[1] In the reign of Kumāra Gupta in 426 A. D. Śaṅkara, son

1. G.I., p. 67.

of the soldier Saṅghila set up in an Udayagiri cave-temple the image of Pārśva with the expanded hoods of a snake and an attendant female divinity.[1] In the year 451 A.D. the *Upāsikā* Harisvāminī, wife of the *Upāsaka* Sanasiddha, gave a donation of money to the *saṅgha* of Kākanādabōṭa *i.e.* the great *stūpa* of Sāñcī, for feeding one *Bhikku* daily and maintaining lamps in the shrine of Buddha.[2] In 455 A.D. The *vihārasvāminī* (wife of the Superintendent of a *vihāra*) Dāvatā gave a statue as a religious gift at Mathurā.[3] Bālāditya built at Nālanda a great *vihāra* about 300 feet in height, rivalling in magnificence the great *vihāra* at Gayā and placed a statue of Buddha in it.[4]

A Śākya mendicant Bōdhivarma dedicated a standing image of Buddha at Dēōriyā (in Allahābād Dt.)[5] In 589 A.D. Mahānāma, a *Sthavira* from Āruradvīpa, born in the island of Laṅkā built "a beautiful mansion (*prāsāda*) white as the rays of the moon, with a *maṇḍapa* all round at the Bōdhimaṇḍ" (the miraculous throne under the Bōdhi tree at Buddha Gayā) and set up a statue of Buddha there. It is not impossible that this Mahānāma was the author of the earlier part of the *Mahāvaṁśa*.[6] Different Indian cults were perfectly friendly to one another. Candra Gupta II was present at the dedication of a cave-temple at Udayagiri by his minister to Śambhu (Śiva); Āmrakārdava, an officer of the royal house-hold (*rājakula*) endowed in 413 A.D. for the spiritual benefit of the Vaiṣṇava king, a village and 25 *dīnārs* for feeding

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1. G.I., p. 259.
2. G.I., p. 261.
3. G.I., p. 263.
4. B.R.W.W., II, pp. 173-4.
5. G.I., p. 271.
6. G.I., 274-8.

5 *Bhikkus* at the *Vihāra* of Kākanādabōṭa (Sāñcī) and burning a lamp in the Great *Stūpa*,[1] which had come under the rule of the Gupta king. Other facts recorded by Fa Hsien, a Chinese Buddhist monk who travelled in India in 405-11 A.D., confirm this testimony from inscriptions. Thus in his account of a Buddhist car-festival he says :—"Regularly every year, on the eighth day of the second moon, they have a procession of images. They make a four-wheeled car of five storeys by lashing together bamboos, and these storeys are supported by posts in the form of crescent-bladed halberds. The car is over twenty feet in height, and in form like a pagoda ; and it is draped with a kind of white cashmere, which is painted in various colours. They make images of *dēvas* (gods of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva pantheon), ornamented with gold, silver and strass, and with silk banners and canopies overhead. At the four sides they make niches, each with a Buddha sitting inside, and a Bōdhisatva in attendance. There may be some twenty cars, all beautifully ornamented and different from one another. On the above mentioned day all the ecclesiastics and laymen in the district assemble ; they have singing and high-class music, and make offerings of flowers and incense. The Brāhmaṇs come to invite the Buddhas ; and these enter the city in regular order and there pass two nights, while all the night long lamps are burning, high-class music is being played, and offerings are being made."[2] Even at this stage of the development of Buddhism, when not only monks but laymen took part in the worship, it would be inaccurate to call the Bauddha cult a religion separate from or opposed to Hinduism as it would be incorrect to call the Śaiva cult or Vaiṣṇava cult separate from or

1. G.I., pp. 32-3.

2. T.F., p. 47.

opposed to Hinduism to-day. Each cult had an independent complete mythology and a philosophy of its own; but all the cults were but different expressions of the same underlying religio-philosophical system of thought. Nor was Buddhism antagonistic to the other sect, for as now, all the people, including the Brāhmaṇas, took part in the worship and even the gods were on visiting terms as Fa-Hsien tells us. Moreover Buddha by this time became to the Vaiṣṇavas an incarnation of Viṣṇu, undertaken for the purpose of putting an end to animal sacrifices and the slaughter of animals on a large scale which the *yajñas* involved. There was perfect amity between Brāhmaṇas and Bauddhas. Not only did they join together in the celebration of each other's religious festivals, and did their myths blend, but in the *Mahāyāna* monastery of Pāṭaliputra there resided a Brāhmaṇa "whose name was Raivata. He was a strikingly enlightened man of much wisdom, there being nothing which he did not understand. He led a pure and solitary life; and the king of the country revered him as a teacher, so that whenever he went to visit the Brāhmaṇa, he did not venture to sit beside him. If the king from a feeling of love and veneration, grasped his hand, when he let go, the Brāhmaṇa would immediately wash it. He was perhaps over fifty years of age, and all the country looked up to and relied upon this one man to diffuse the Faith in Buddha, so that the heretics were unable to persecute the priesthood."[1] Apparently this man did not become a Bauddha monk (as Buddhaghoṣa did in the V cent. A.D.) but remained a Brāhmana who, however, had intellectual sympathies not with Buddha's 'faith' but with Bauddha metaphysics, exactly as some modern Brāhmaṇas have for Western scientific hypotheses. Another Brāhmaṇa

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1. T. F., p. 46.

teacher in a *Mahāyāna* monastery had the Buddhist name of Mañjuśrī, and he was "very much looked upto by the leading Shamans and religious mendicants under the Great Vehicle throughout the kingdom."[1]

Fa Hsien came to India partly for securing Buddhist Mss. and images, and partly as a pilgrim to the holy spots associated with the events, real or legendary, of the life of his Master. Naturally he saw everything with Buddhist glasses and described Buddhist temples to the exclusion of others; but this ought not blind us to the fact that in his day the Bauddha cult was far on the path of decay. He himself informs us that the four places specially connected with Gautama's life were all decayed. Kapilavastu where he lived in his early life was "desolate and barren, with very few inhabitants."[2] Gayā, where he became a Buddha was "a complete waste within its walls."[3] Inside the city of Srāvasti where he resided for twenty-five years, "the people were few and scattered, amounting in all to about two hundred families";[4] and in Kuśanagara where he died, "the inhabitants were few and scattered and only such as were connected with the priesthood."[5] The evidence of inscriptions and coins, too, proves that the *Bhakti* cults of Śiva and Viṣṇu were fast displacing the mixed *Bhakti* and *Jñāna* cults of the Bauddhas and the Jainas.

Even in Ceylon Fa-Hsien saw that the king scrupulously "observed the rites of Brahma"[6] and in remote Jāvā when he visited it on his way to China, "heresies

1. T.F., p. 46.
2. *Ib.* p. 38.
3. *Ib.* p. 53.
4. *Ib.* p. 30.
5. *Ib.* p. 41.
6. *Ib.* p. 69.

and Brahmanism were flourishing while the Faith of Buddha was in a very unsatisfactory condition."[1] Brāhmaṇas and merchants travelled in his boat when he sailed to China.

Fa Hsien's description of the rites of Buddhist temples is equally true of those of the temples of other cults, except for one point to be referred to below, for all the cults of India followed the same practices and were overlaid with the same superstitions. As the Buddhist places of worship commemorated Buddha's miracles, and enshrined generally pseudo-relics, the others were associated with those of the Jina and the supposed human and divine appearances of Viṣṇu or Śiva and pseudo-relics of gods and saints. In the temples were installed idols which were made of precious metals and stones and had gems set on them. The temple rituals were the same, consisting of sweeping the temple daily, besprinkling it with water, burning incense, lighting lamps, scattering flowers and making offerings. In front of the temples stood sellers of incense and flowers, which worshippers bought before entering them. Superstitious beliefs about dragons, flying men, buildings made by supernatural beings *etc.* were common to all. The scriptures of all the four sects were called *Āgamas*. The temple festivals including the processions of gods in cars were identical and also similar to car-festivals of modern times.

Two copper plate grants,[2] forged perhaps in VI century, because the originals of probably a century earlier had "been burnt by fire", and found in the Almōrā District, testify to the fact that before that time the *Āgama* temple ritual had been made 'orthodox', *i.e.*,

1. *Ib.* p. 78.
2. E.I., xiii, pp. 109 ff.

affiliated with pseudo-Vedic rites, the result being that people ignorant of the actual Vedas came to regard the Āgamika temple-rites as derived from the *Śruti*. This claim is asserted frequently in the Tamil hymns to Śiva and Viṣṇu from the VII century onwards; but it was in Āryāvarta that as the genuine Vedic fire-rites declined, sham Vedic rites were tacked on to the temple-ritual and the Brāhmaṇas first became temple-priests. This is proved by these two grants which refer to the existence of a temple superintendent, Trāta, "the master of the sacrificial Sessions (*Mahāsattrapati*, the *sattrayāga* here mentioned being not a Vedic *sattra* but a temple *sattra*) who superintends the procession of the idols",............He, "accompained by recluses, *brahmacāris*, and the congregation of the Gauggulikas and further by the temple congregation, preceded by royal doorkeepers, the attendants of the sacred fire (*agnisvāmi*), *Kārankikas*, the superintendent of the female (temple) slaves (*Kōṭādhikaraṇika*), [and] the Minister Bhadraviṣṇu" requested the king that "for the purpose of continuing the *bali*, *caru*, *sattra*, for the bathing with curds, milk and *ghi*, the worshipping with perfumes, incense, lamps and flowers; for the observing of sweeping, be-smearing [with cowdung] and ploughing; for the repair of dilapidated, broken and fallen parts, at the feet of the Lord Vīraṇēśvara Svāmī, the incarnation of Ananta,..........grants referring to land, hamlets, villages and crafts incribed on copper-plates, cloth, and *vṛṣatāpa*-plates" by his ancestors be regranted. These two plates, though forged, are very valuable because they prove that long before this period temple-rites as described in the *caryā* and *kriyā* parts (*pāda*) of the *Āgamas*, such as take place today, had been fully evolved; and in other words what is called Hinduism prevailed exactly as now a thousand five hundred years ago and more. *Āgama* books, such as we possess now

existed long long ago. These books and these rites inundated the Tamil country *via* Kāñcīpura in the VI century A.D. and engulfed once for all the life of the Tamil people. Later on the tide returned to North India from the South and Tamil India became the teacher of all India both in the path of devotion and that of knowledge, which position it holds now. It is this development of temple-worship which appealed to the religious and artistic instincts of the common man, and not persecution of any kind, nor even the learned treatises of the *ācāryas* that had eclipsed the Jaina cults, all but extinguished the Vedic fire-rite and totally killed out the Bauddha cults.

In the Tamil country Āryan cults, i.e. Vedic, Āgamic, Jain and Buddhist, first made their appearance in the cosmopolitan trading port of Kāvērippaṭṭanam and are referred to in a poem in praise of Karikāl, called *Paṭṭinap-pālai* by Uruttiraṅgaṇṇanār. This poet describes the "monasteries (of Bauddha and Jaina monks) and the groves where rose the sweet smelling smoke from the offerings (*āvudi, āhuti*) made by the fire-worshipping 'Brāhmāṇa *munis*', the 'guardian gods (*amaras*) of the city' and 'the god installed (in temples)'. Karikāl started the fashion of patronizing *yajñas* and distributing largess to Brāhmaṇa priests. But even in the capital city the old Tamil gods were in the ascendant. Murugan was worshipped, as also upright stones furnished with spears and shields, representing dead heroes, the sea-god symbolised by a shark's horn, and the Pillar-God (*kaṇḍu, Kaudaḷi*). All rites of worship of these old-world Gods involved ritual-feeding, ritual-drinking, ritual-dancing and ecstatic prognostications, which are vividly described in the literature of the period. Similar forms of worship prevailed and continue to prevail even to-day among the uncultured masses—the depressed classes and even the

higher castes outside the many foci of Āryan culture—throughout the country. By the middle of the V century Āryan cults began to make headway. The *Maduraikkāñji* which gives a vivid account of the life of the people in that epoch, refers to Śiva and Viṣṇu temples just outside the city of Madurā and of communities of Bauddha and Jaina monks living in gardens not far from them. Acyuta Kaḷappāḷa patronized these cults and built monasteries for Bauddha ascetics at Kāvēripaṭṭanam and near Uṛaiyūr, and helped the Jaina monks to found a *Drāviḍa Saṅgham* in 470 A.D. at Madurā. The Tamil legends of three Tamil *Śaṅgams* of great antiquity were invented[1] after the foundation of the *Drāviḍa Saṅgham* of the Jainas at Madurā. The immediate result of his reign was the rapid assimilation of the Ārya and Tamil cults in the Tamil land; but gifts to Brāhmaṇas and Gods, incribed on stone or copper, did not yet become the custom beyond the district of Kāñcī. That is why it is impossible to fix the dates of the numerous Tamil works or arrange their names in a reliable chronological order.

All the Ārya cults spread fast in the Tamil country in the VI century. Buddhist and Jaina establishments called *paḷḷis* arose and innumerable temples were built in honour of Viṣṇu or Śiva, either the Gods generally or local manifestations of these deities, not only in towns but in almost all major villages, especially in the Cōḷa country. All these temples were timber-built and have been in later times destroyed and rebuilt in stone. The *Śilappadigāram*, a romantic poem of the VI century, mentions the temples of Veṅgaḍam (Tirupati not far from

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1. The problem of the age and authenticity of the Śangam period is highly controversial. According to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri 'the Śangam age lies in the early centuries of the Christian era'. See P.K.; ch. II. *Ed.*

Madras), Śrīraṅgam (in the Trichinopoly District), and Tirumālkunṟam (Aḷagarmalai in Madurā District) as being held in great reverence by the people, as well as the bathing place in Cape Comorin. It also mentions the Śiva (Periyōn) temple, the Bāladeva (Vāliyon) temple, the Muruga (Śevvēḷ) temple, and the Viṣṇu (Neḍiyōn) temple in Kāvērippaṭṭanam. Minor temples in Karūr and Madurā are also alluded to. Another poem of the same century, *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai*, describes Paḷani, Tirup-paṟaṅguṉṟam, Tiruvēragam and Tiruccendūr, in the Pāṇḍiya country as being famous for their Muruga shrines. The greatest builder of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples ruled in the Cōḷa country and was named Śeṅgaṇān.

These cults came to the Tamil country as rival missionary cults. The Brāhmaṇas of the pure Vedic cult made common cause with the pseudo-Vedic cults of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Between them and anti-Vedic cults of the Bauddha and the Jaina, a fierce rivalry sprang up and thus the fanatic intolerance of cults other than one's own, unknown in Northern India, developed in the South. Later the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas imbibed the spirit of intolerance as against each other, and Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sub-castes arose among the Brāhmaṇas, for each cult felt it necessary to degrade the status of the God of the other, whereas a third subdivision continued to reverence both Gods as supreme, in accordance with the so-called henotheistic spirit of old India. But these subdivisions became pronounced only after the X century A.D. But the higher spirits, throughout India, —the philosophers among the Bauddha and Jaina monks and among the Brāhmaṇa Sanyāsīs and laymen and other highly intellectual men, though they silently followed their caste laws and the rules of their order, pursued the paths of wisdom. Of these, the one possessed of most vitality was the Vedānta and it permeated the literature

of the time. As in the *Sūtras*, such as Āpastamba's, Vedāntic ideas crop up, so in the works of Kālidāsa and other poets, which deal chiefly with the Āgama Gods and their ways, there is noticeable a gradual *rapprochement* between the Vedānta principles and the teachings of the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta *Āgamas*. While keeping the intense devotion (*bhakti*) to one Supreme Divinity, there occurs the attempt here and there to weld the doctrine of the Absolute, of the essential reality of the *Param Brahma*, to the worship of one of the Āgamika Gods. It was this welding that finally killed Buddhism. The latter had to give up the devotion to the person of the Master, when he was elevated to the position of the Ādi Buddha, the Supreme God, and without devotion to the Master (*Bhagavān* Buddha), what remained of Buddhism was but barren logic-chopping, fruitless logomachy, and a pretended aversion to the pleasures of earthy life.

A colony of Syrian Christians settled in the Malabār coast in this period. Their church was affiliated to the Syrian Churches in Persia and beyond. Whether there were any Christians in India before this period began there is no means of ascertaining; vague legends exist about the people converted by the Apostle Thomas living at Mailāpūr (Madras), but no testimony which can at all be regarded as remotely historical is available[1]. There are, besides, in Cochin (Malabār) two classes of Jews, one black and another white. They must have settled there as traders and they have forgotten their mother-tongue completely and become Malayālīs in speech. Why one class is white and another black and why they do not intermarry is a mystery.

A great development of philosophical and other literature took place in this period. Early in the fourth

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1. For a criticism of the legend of St. Thomas and his alleged mission to South India, see E. H. I., pp. 245–50, 2560–2. *Ed.*

century lived Asaṅga, author of the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra*, and *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, texts of the *Vijñānavāda* school,[1] and his brother Vasubandhu, friend of Samudra Gupta, and author of *Gāthāsaṅgraha*, *Abhidharma Kośa* and an attack on the Sāṅkhya system of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa, called *Paramārthasaptati*. The *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* is another Bauddha philosophical book of this time. At the end of the fourth century lived Buddhadatta of the Cōḷa country who wrote in Pali the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the *Vinayavinicchaya* on Bauddha philosophy. His younger contemporary, Buddha-ghōṣa of Gayā wrote (or translated) several commentaries on early Bauddha literature as well as other books on Bauddha philosophy. The *Aṭṭakathā* is his best known work. Dinnāga about the same time wrote on Logic the *Pramāsamuccaya*, the *Nyāyapraveśa* and other works, most of which are preserved only in translations. He wrote with a view to support the philosophical speculations of the Bauddhas. Uddhyotkara then wrote his *Vārttika* on *Nyāyabhāṣya* from the orthodox standpoint, and Dharmakīrti criticised him in his *Nyāyabindu* at the end of the VI century from the Bauddha point of view. The final redaction of the *Yājñavalkya smṛti* belongs to this period, but the original work on which it was based must have come down from the age of the *Sūtras*. The *Yājñavalkya smṛti* as we have it now is a well planned work, divided into three equal parts dealing with *Ācāra*, right conduct, *Vyavahāra*, law and *Prāyaścitta*, means of absolution. Numerous other metrical law-texts (their total number is said to be 152) were written in this and earlier and later ages, but the *Parāśara smṛti* must be mentioned

1. According to Winternitz, these were probably the works of Maitreya, the teacher of Asaṅga. See H.I.L., II, pp. 352-355. *Ed.*

here because it was the subject of an elaborate commentary by Mādhava (XIV century). Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* a simplification in some parts and amplification in others of Kauṭilya's work belongs to this age. Probably many works on the minor sciences were revised in this age, like *Mayamata*, *Hastāyurveda*; as also the *Bhāṣyas* on the *Pūrva* and *Uttara Mīmāṁsā* by Upavarṣa and Śabarasvamī. In this age the two *Mīmāṁsās* were treated as parts of one *Śāstra*. A Vyāsa wrote commentaries on the *Yoga Sūtras*. Āryabhaṭa wrote several mathematical and astronomical works by the end of the V century. Most of them are lost. He is noted for having taught that the earth was a sphere and rotated on its axis; and that eclipses were due to the moon and the shadow of the earth. He believed in the theory of the four *yugas* but held them to be of equal lengths. He discussed progressions, algebraic identities and indeterminate equations of the first degree, in his *Gaṇita*. He gives a remarkably accurate value of the ratio between the radius and the circumference of the circle. Varāhamihira, (died 587 A.D.), wrote in the middle of the VI century in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* an account of five older astronomical treatises. His main work was astrological. He divides the *Jyōtiś Śāstra* into three parts, (1) *Tantra*, the astronomical foundation of astrology, (2) *Horā*, horoscopy and (3) *Samhitā*, astrology proper. His *Bṛhatsamhita* is an encyclopaedia of the knowledge of his days and his *Bṛhajjātaka* is pure astrology. In this period was composed the most splendid drama without the love-interest, the *Mudrārākṣasa*, of Viśakhadatta. At about the end of the VI century Subandhu wrote his romance, *Vāsavadattā*, in which he has almost exhausted the peculiar possibilities of the Sanskrit language in making a pun in every syllable, in evolving the music of alliteration and in forging phrases which roll melodiously and are full of multipedalian

majesty. An old *śloka* whose evidential value has been wantonly doubted because it is embedded in the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* of the XVI century, says that 'nine jewels' adorned the court of Vikramāditya, namely Dhanvantari, Kṣapaṇaka, Amarasiṁha, Saṅkhu, Vetāla Bhaṭṭa, Ghaṭakarpara, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuci. As Varāhamihira, belonged to the VI century the Vikramāditya of this verse ought to be Yaśodharma, the sun of Mālwā.[1] Of these 'gems' Dhanvantari wrote a medical glossary; Amarasiṁha, a general glossary in the form of a delightful poem. Kṣapaṇaka was also a lexicographer and Vararuci (other than the great Vararuci-Kātyāyana who was a southerner), the author of *Prākṛta prakāśa*. Saṅkhu is represented by a few odd verses in later anthologies and Vetāla Bhaṭṭa and Ghaṭakarpara by collections of gnomic stanzas. Kālidāsa certainly belonged to this coterie, because he belonged to Mālwā and was patronized by a great king of Ujjayinī; he refers to the Hūṇas on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu (the Oxus) and alludes to Dinnāga. For no proper reason some have transferred him to the court of Candra Gupta II. His chief works are the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, dealing with the reactions of lovers to the changes of seasons, the *Meghadūta*, the cloud messenger of love, which contains plenty of local colour, the *Kumārasambhava*, a brilliant unfinished poem on the marriage and amours of Śiva and Umā which led to the birth of the war-God, the *Raghuvaṁśa*, the finest specimen of the grand Epic (*Mahākāvya*) in Sanskrit, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, a historical, and the *Śākuntalā*, a semi-historical, and the *Vikramorvaśi*, a mythological, drama. Kālidāsa has delighted the hearts and developed the tastes of more human beings than any other of the world's

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1. There are several divergent views regarding the identity of the patron of Kālidāsa and his date. See H.C.S L., pp. 100-113. *Ed.*

poets. Dante may have surpassed him in architectonic imagination and Shakespeare in intimate knowledge of human nature in all its phases, but Kālidāsa is unrivalled in graceful beauty of poetic imagery, in the exposition of the action of the endlessly varying moods of nature on the kaleidoscopic changes of human emotions and in the evolution of the highest melody from the collocations of the words of a merely human language.

The most remarkable Tamil poem of this or any period of India or any other country, is the Kuṟaḷ lit., the short (stanzas), by a great anonymous poet whose title alone, *Vaḷḷuvanār*, (minister, herald) we know. In imitation of the *Dhammapada*, an anthology of Buddha's poetic sayings, it contains short, pithy, poetic aphorisms on the highest Ethics that man has conceived or preached. It deals with the *Trivargas*, of the Sanskrit moralists, that is the three objects of life, Right conduct (*aṟam*), wealth and government (*poṟuḷ*) and love (*kāmam*), without entangling itself in the specific tenets of any particular religious creed. It is the only poem ever produced, which, though didactic, is not dry and though dealing with abstract ideas, is yet charged with splendid poetic imagery. It presses into service the voluminous gnomic poetry of the period and at the same time gives the impression of a well-planned treatise on the whole duty of man. It was probably composed at the end of the V century A.D.; at the time when Buddha-ghōṣa was writing his commentaries on the *Dhammapada*. The author belonged to the Kāñcīpura district, which in those days teemed with rival teachers of the Vedic, the Śaiva, the Vaiṣṇava, the Bauddha and the Jaina cults: it uses all those teachings and rises above the sectarianism of those teachers.

Tamil poetry also passed in this age from the short ode to long poems, descriptive and epic. Numerous short

odes (sonnets rather) on single incidents of love and war and in praise of kings still continued to be composed and were, along with stray relics of former periods, collected in eight anthologies (*Ettuttogai*); they are called *Aganānūru, Puranānūru, Kurundogai, Narriṇai, Padirrup-pattu, Aiṅgurunūru, Kalittogai* and *Paripādal.* Ten long odes, descriptive of countries, cities, festivals, battles *etc.*, were composed in the V and VI centuries and gathered together in one anthology called *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the Ten Songs. All these continue the old Tamil poetic tradition and are totally independent of Sanskrit in diction, metre, poetic imagery and poetic convention. At the end of the period was produced the first Tamil epic, the *Śilappadigāram*, attributed to a princely ascetic; its epic form is an imitation of Sanskrit epics, and its vocabulary contains a pretty large proportion of naturalized Sanskrit words. In metre and other poetic convention it preserves the Tamil traditions, but in the life which it describes we catch Āryan cults and Tamil cults, Āryan ideas and Tamil ideas, in the very act of blending into a harmonious whole. Thence started the new South Indian civilization, which was destined to dominate the growth of Hindu culture for many centuries afterwards.

Higher education was very wide spread. The *ghaṭika* or college at Kāñcī where Mayuraśarmā studied before he rose in revolt against the Pallava king was one of the colleges which studded the land and where the higher studies were pursued. It was apparently maintained by the Pallava monarchs, at Kāñcī,[1] and there were surely many other such institutions in more important capitals. But according to old Indian custom the house of each scholar was a college, where

1. E.I., viii, p. 32.

the pupils boarded with their *ācāryas*. The great part of land-gifts to Brāhmaṇas (*brahmadeyams*) were made to learned scholars, who were expected to, and as a matter of course did take and maintain a number of pupils. Of these, the Vedic scholars usually had the affix, *svāmī* added to their names. That affix generally occurs in this and the next period at the end of the names of men conversant with sacrificial lore generally and of *Mīmāṁsakas* specially. Examples of this are Śabarasvāmī, author of *Mīmāṁsā bhāṣyā*, Agnisvāmī, of commentaries on Lāṭyāyana's *Śrauta Sūtra*, Bhavasvāmī, commentator on Baudhāyana, Devasvāmī, on Āśvalāyana, Kumārila Svāmī (also Bhaṭṭa).[1] Further examples may be adduced from inscriptions.

In 432 A.D. a copper-plate grant, the earliest Gupta one so far found, was issued, ending a previous permanent endowment (*nīvi dharma kṣayam ālabhya*) and granting it to a Sāmavedī Brāhmaṇa, called Varāhasvamī. The copper-plate is mostly illegible, but in it occurs the word *grāmāṣṭakulādhikaraṇa*, a local ruler of eight villages.[2]

In 551 *Mahārāja* Nandana, *Kumārāmātya* of the Gupta sovereigns of Magadha gave a village to Ravisvamī, a Brāhmaṇa of the *Saura*, 'solar', cult. The inscription is interesting because it shows that the purely solar calendar was used in Magadha in the VI century.[3] Sāntilla, a general of a Bhilla, chieftain and feudatory of the Kalacuri · Saṅkaragaṇa gave on the occasion of a solar eclipse a village to the scholar Anantasvamī for performing the five *Mahāyajñas*, and "for the increase of the

1. Quoted from Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in E. I.—ii, p. 23.
2. J. A. S. B., N. S., V. pp. 459-61,
3. E. I., x, p. 50.

spiritual merit and fame of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka's (Śaṅkara-Gaṇa's) feet."[1]

Buddharāja gave a village near Vaṭanagara (Vāḍnēr, in the Nāsik Dt.) to a Brāhmaṇa to enable him to perform *bali*, *caru*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihotra*, *etc*.[2] In the next year he issued a grant from his capital giving a village to a Brāhmaṇa scholar Bappasvāmī for the same purpose.[3]

Bhīmasena II, fifth in descent from Sūra, of Mahākosala in 601 A.D., issued a charter from Suvarṇṇanadī (Sōn, the tributary of the Gaṅgā, rising from the Amarakaṇṭaka hills), giving an *agrahāra* to two students of the Ṛgveda, called Harisvāmī and Bappasvāmī.[4] *Sāmanta mahārāja* Siṁhāditya, feudatory of the Maitrakas gave a field[5] with a pond in 574 A.D. in Palitānā, Kāthiāwāḍ to Bappasvāmī, student of the Maitrāyaṇika school. Hastī, the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja*, gave in 476 A.D. a village marked by "trenches on all sides" to Gōpasvāmī and other Brāhmaṇas who were given the right to enjoy all rights, except the fine on thieves (*cora-daṇḍa*) which was to go to the communal funds. He gave in 482 A.D. an *agrahāra* to certain Brāhmaṇas, marking clearly the boundaries of the gift-village as a boundary-trench (*garta*) and a bridge (*pāli*) on one side, a bridge on another, the place where the reeds grow by the cattle-path (*gopatha-sarah*) and a bridge on the third, and a boundary trench and bridges on other sides. It had a well at its entrance.[6]

1. E. I., ii, p. 22.
2. E. I., xii, pp. 33-4.
3. E. I., vi, p. 300.
4. E. I., ix, p. 345.
5. E. I., xi, p. 17.
6. G. I., pp. 95-105,

Grants were generally made on specially holy occasions some of which have been indicated. Indravarma of the Eastern Gaṅga family gave to Durgasarman during the sun's progress to the north (*udagayana*) in the 87th year of the *Gāṅgeya* era, a field situated near the king's tank (*rājataṭāka*), the water of which the donee was permitted to use for irrigation purposes. On the day in question, a new tank other than the king's tank, built by the king in the village was consecrated and hence the gift.[1]

Sometimes and especially in the Southern districts of India, villages were given to a community of Caturvedīs, groups of representatives of each Veda, without whose joint effort, the Vedic *yajñas* could not be celebrated. Such villages were called *caturvedimaṅgalams*. The earliest of these in the Tamil country was Simhaviṣṇu *caturvedimaṅgalam*, founded by the Pallava monarch Simhaviṣṇu who flourished at the end of the VI century. These Brāhmaṇa villages became the foci whence Āryan culture spread in the Tamil country and each soon became the headquarters of the local administration of a group of villages attached to it.

Princes and Kṣatriyas of superior status underwent education in their homes at the hands of the family *purohita*. Indian princes throughout the ages have been proved of their proficiency, not only in military studies, but in literature, sacred and profane, science and the arts, both fine and useful. Their teachers even in the art of war, were Brāhmaṇas; this explains why in the course of Indian history down to the XVIII century, a great number of generals belonged to this caste. Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra*, the *Pañcatantra*, and works like *Dhanurveda*, and portions of the *Smṛtis* were specially

1. E. I., iii, pp. 129-30.

intended for them. Merchants and craftsmen were also educated at home in their professional duties; they had also a working knowledge of Sanskrit for all technical knowledge was embodied in Sanskrit books. Probably *Mahājani* schools for the sons of traders existed. As children of craftsmen followed their family profession they took their lessons from their parents or other senior relatives. Their first lessons were on drawing and design, for all Indian handicraft was by inexorable custom associated with art and no work was turned out by any kind of smith without some art-work on it. How far the craft-gilds were connected with the training of the budding craftsmen there is no means of knowing; but we know that they controlled the standard of quality both of material and design of the work of the adult craftsman. Buddhist, Jaina as well as Brāhmaṇa *maṭhas* were also great centres of education; in the two latter lay pupils formed the bulk of the students. But the Buddhist institutions chiefly served candidates for the Bauddha *Sanyāsa*. The earlier stages of the education of the disciples concerned itself with Sanskrit grammar and logic. In later stages they were taught their special scriptures. Medicine was a subject specially cultivated in Buddhist monasteries. Similar was the teaching imparted in Jaina centres of education. The contribution of the Jainas and the Bauddhas to the development of Sanskrit literature was considerable. Fa Hsien, one of whose objects in visiting India was to learn Sanskrit, says that in the Pañjāb oral methods of instruction prevailed but in the east writing was more freely used.[1] Fa Hsien stopped at Pāṭaliputra for three years learning to write and speak Sanskrit, presumably in a monastery.[2]

1. T. F., p. 64.
2. T.F., p. 65.

The ideal of *Varṇāśrama dharma* was constantly kept in view, especially by the Brāhmaṇas and the kings and was acquiesced by the other classes. The virtue of maintaining it in its purity is referred to by the grantors of some donations. Mixed marriages were not the norm; but there is one case on record in which a Brāhmaṇa, Ravikīrtti married a Kṣatriya lady of the name of Bhānuguptā, and the sons of the union were regarded as Brāhmaṇas. This is referred to in a poetic inscription of the time of Yaśodharma[1]. The working of the rules of conduct prescribed for the monks as well as the laity is described by Fa Hsien. "The priests [Fa Hsien is thinking chiefly of Bauddha priests but it is true of others also] occupy themselves with benevolent ministrations and with chanting liturgies; or they sit in meditations."[2] "When they [*i.e.*, the kings] make offerings to the priests, they take off their caps of State."[3]

Fa Hsien tells us that a learned Brāhmaṇa of Pāṭaliputra, called Raivata, a teacher of Buddhism, "was a strikingly enlightened man of much wisdom, there being nothing which he did not understand. He led a pure and solitary life; and the king of the country revered him as his teacher, so that whenever he went to visit the Brāhmaṇa he did not venture to sit beside him. If the king, from a feeling of love and veneration, grasped his hand, when he let go, the Brāhmaṇa would immediately wash it. He was perhaps over fifty years of age, and all the country looked up to him and relied upon this one man to diffuse widely the Faith in Buddha, so that the heretics were unable to persecute the priesthood".[4] This extract may well be considered by those

1. G. I., p. 152.
2. T. F., p. 22.
3. T. F., p. 20.
4. T. F., p. 46.

who still believe that Buddha abolished caste or the Brāhmaṇa *ācāras*. "Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic but *caṇḍālas* are segregated. *Caṇḍāla* is their name for foul men (lepers, *i.e*, untouchables). These live away from other people; and when they approach a city or market, they beat a piece of wood, in order to distinguish themselves. Then people know who they are and avoid coming into contact with them. In this country they do not keep pigs or fowls, (there are) no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-places.........Only the *caṇḍālas* go hunting and deal in flesh",[1] which was sold outside the city-gates as in the previous periods. Fa Hsien notes the existence of a large number of people who were totally unaffected by Āryan culture and lived in their old-world ways, in the hilly regions of the interior. He calls them "pagans who know nothing of the Buddhist Faith, of Shamans, of Brahmans or of any other of the heterodox religions."[2] Such totally uncultured people still dwell on the hills of the Eastern and Western Ghāts. The custom of self-immolation near the banks of the Gaṅgā is noted in an inscription. Kumāra Gupta of the minor branch of the Guptas of Magadha on being defeated by Iśānavarma the Maukhari, "cherishing heroism and adherence to the truth.........went to Prayāga and honourably decorated with flowers, plunged into a fire (kindled) by dry cow-dung cakes as if in water"; we may infer that he was defeated and wiped his disgrace by self-immolation in fire. One instance of *sati*-selfimmolation may also be quoted as a specimen. When Goparāja died in a battle with the Hūṇas, his "devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, in close companionship accompanied him on to the funeral pyre", *i.e.* became *sati*. A *sati*-pillar was there-

1. T. F., p. 21.
2. T. F., p. 63.

upon erected on the spot.[1] *Sati*-stones are found in various part of the country and of all ages, like the *vira*-stones built on the spots where acts of personal heroism took place.

The building of *sattras*, places of free feeding and temporary rest-houses for travellers and the poor, attached often to temples, has been frequently referred to in the inscriptions already quoted. The provision for feeding in *sattras* was considered not only a form of charity but as a part of the temple rite (*balicarusattra*). The roof of the *sattra* was domical, like that of the temple. Feeding guests even in private houses was regarded from very old times as a form of worship (*atithipūjā*). Fa Hsien knew of this and has recorded that kings, elders of the merchants class and 'heretics' built in all places *sattras*, where "rooms, with beds and mattresses, food and clothes, are provided for resident and travelling priests without fail."[2] Free hospitals were instituted in capital cities, "and hither come all poor or helpless patients, orphans, widowers, and cripples. They are well taken care of, a doctor attends them, food and medicine being supplied according to their needs. They are all made quite comfortable and when they are cured they go away".[3]

The administration of the country was carried on exactly under the principles laid down in the *smṛtis*, the *Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka's *Niti Śāstra*. The hierarchy of the officials of the Central Government is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, as usually the king held a *darbār* of them when he issued grants on holy

1. G.I., pp. 91-3.
2. T.F., p. 21-22.
3. T.F., p. 48.

occasions. Dharasēna V of Valabhī in 572 A.D. gave some gifts to a Brāhmaṇa for use in offering *bali*, *caru*, *Vaiśvadeva*, *agnihotra* and *atithi*, (feeding guests), that is for performing daily the *pañcamahāyajñas*. This inscription teems with useful information. It names a hierarchy of administrators, *Ayuktaka*, *Viniyuktaka*, *Dranġika* (rulers of a township), *Mahattara* (village-head), besides other officers, *Dhruvādhikaraṇika*(head of the persons who collect the *bhāga*, share of the harvest), *Daṇḍapāśika* (policemen), and others. It also gives the name of a unit of square measure, *pādāvarta*, a square foot, and of *padraka*, probably 'common-land'. Dharasena also gave the donee an irrigation well, twenty-eight feet square each way. Certain immunities are mentioned which are unintelligible.[1]

The Governmental hiearchy under the Guptas began with the Emperor (*paramabhaṭṭāraka*), who appointed the *uparika-mahārāja*, the governor of a *bhukti* (province). The latter appointed the *viṣayapati Kumārāmatyas*, rulers of the districts (*viṣayas*) into which the provinces were divided. The affairs of a town were managed by an *āyuktaka*, appointed by the *Viṣayapati*; he was helped by a board of which the *nagaraśreṣṭhi* (president of the town-gild), the chief *kulika* (artizan), the chief *Kāyastha* (accountant) and the *Sārthavāha* (chief merchant) were members. Besides the *āyuktakas*, there were the *aṣṭakulādkiharaṇas* (superintendents of 8 villages), the *grāmikas* (the king's officers in each village) and *mahattaras* (headmen of each village).

A few sale deeds of the Gupta period have been recovered, which give an insight into the way in which such transactions were conducted in those days. They

1. G. I., pp. 164-171.

are divisible into six parts, viz., the prayer of the applicant, the object of the purchase of the land (donation to temples, Brāhmaṇas, *etc.*), reference to the government record-keepers whose approval was necessary, the permission of the state for selling the land on receipt of the proper price, after it has been severed from other lands by boundary marks, on survey made according to a particular standard of measurement, the gift of the purchased land to the grantee, and lastly the merits accruing from such gifts, *etc.*[1] The applications were disposed of by the *Viṣayapati*, i.e., the Governor of a *viṣaya* (district), who was also called *Kumarāmātya*, and was appointed by an *Uparika*, the head of a *bhukti* (province). Minor officers who dealt with the applications for the purchase of land, besides the recordkeepers (*pustaphāla*) were the *mahattaras*, *aṣṭakulādhikaraṇas* and *grāmikas*. In one of the deeds the applicant was the *nagaraśreṣṭhi* and the object was to acquire land for building temples; in another, the applicant was a nobleman (*kulaputra*), and the object, to provide for the repairs of a Svetavarāha temple and means for the daily temple rites of *bali*, *caru*, *sattra*, *etc.*[2] Some of the officers under the Guptas were hereditary,[3] and this was the case under other dynasties, because the hereditary principle was recognized throughout the country in the choice of office as of profession.

The government records were voluminous and record-keepers of high as well as low grades are frequently mentioned. Careful records of the boundaries of villages, and even of individual fields which received their own names were kept and they were copied in inscriptions

1. E. I., xv, pp. 113-4.
2. E. I., xv, pp. 114-115.
3. J. A. S. B., N. S., v, pp. 457-9,

when they were given away as ***Brahmadeyam* or *Deva-deyam***. Devendravarma, the Gaṅga king of Kaliṅga-nagara, in the 183 years of the Gaṅga era, gave an *agrahāra* to six Brāhmaṇa brothers of the same place. It is to be noted that one of the boundaries of the village was the district trench, and another another trench in which the water from two neighbouring hills united and ran;[1] apparently these trenches were measured and noted in the government records and water supply for purposes of irrigation was regulated. The rule of the Eastern Gaṅgas was as efficiently developed as that of the greater empires of India during the period.

The boundary marks of a village granted by Indra-varma the Eastern Gaṅga may also be quoted to show that the perplexing change of dynasties did not affect at all the administration or public records of the government of the provinces. They are, "in the east, the ***bund*** (*pāli*) of the *rājataṭāka* (royal tank); in the south the same; in the west, three ant-hills in succession (ant-hills were considered sacred then as now and were not destroyed); on the northern side, a boulder on the top of a gate (this appears to refer to the sluice of the tank), then another boulder (covered) with bricks, then a couple of *dhimāra* trees and then a *kāraka* (perhaps Telugu *gāraceṭṭu*) tree."[2] The irrigation arrangements were not interfered with by con-tending armies.

Another grant of Indravarma to the Vedic scholar Bhavadattaśarmā of a field mentions its boundaries as follows:—" on the east, beginning with an ant-hill, (there are) at (the length of) the shadow of a man, an *Arjuna* tree, then an ant-hill, then a *Karañja* tree together with an ant-hill. On the south from the *Karañja* tree, at (the

1. E. I., iii., p. 134.
2. E I., iii., pp. 129-30,

length of) the shadow of a man, three boulders. On the west, beginning with the boulder, at (the length of) the shadow of a man (there is) a boulder, then an *Arjuna* tree, then a boulder. On the north, beginning with the boulder, at (the length of) the shadow of a man (there is) a *Timira* tree, then a boulder, then in the form of a door-joining (there is) a boulder, and then a single boulder (and) then a hill'.[1] Ant-hills and certain trees were held by the people as sacred and not destroyed by them; hence they are mentioned as permanent landmarks. The Pallava grants in Sanskrit of the V Century again show that notwithstanding rapid changes of kings and dynasties the administrative records such as those of the boundaries of villages were well-kept, and donations to temples were continued to be made. Thus the village of Uruvappalli, donated by a prince to a Viṣṇu temple built by a *Sēnāpati*, is described as follows:—Within the limits of this village "there are 200 *nivartanas*. The boundaries (*avadhayaḥ*) of those *nivartanas* are: on the west, the boundaries of the village of Kandukūra are the limit (*sīmāvadhiḥ*); on the south the river Suprayōga is the limit; on the east (the same) is the limit; to the north by south of the east there is a rock on the side of the great road (*mahāpatha*); proceeding thence to the north there is a tamarind tree; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the road to the village of Karupūra and to the village of Kandukūra; proceeding thence to the north, there is a heap of rocks; proceeding thence to the north, there is a rock on the edge of the cultivated field of the Brāhmaṇs in the village of Karupūra, *etc.*"[2] From this inscription we learn that the land records kept in the Revenue offices of the time were drawn up with very great care; the great

1. E. I., xiv, p. 363.
2. I. A., v, pp. 51-53.

road was one of those along which articles of trade were carried and royal tours conducted.

The immunities attached to *Brahmadeyams* indicates the nature of the minor dues attached to land: "it is not to pay taxes; it is not to be entered by the regular troops or by the umbrella-bearers; it does not carry with it (the duty of supplying) cows and bulls in succession of production [such as giving up a bull-calf and a cow-calf out of the seasonal yeanlings] or the abundance of flowers and milk [to be supplied from each village daily to the palace or the *ṭhāṇa*] or grass, hides and charcoal [to be similarly supplied for the royal stables and the royal smithy]; [it does not carry with it the right of royal officers] to buy up moist salt, or (that dug) from mines; it is entirely free from (the obligation of supplying to the king) unpaid labour (*veṣṭi, veṭṭi*): it carries with it the hidden treasures (*nidhi*) and *upanidhis* (?), the *klṛpta* (?) and the *upaklṛpta* (?)".[1] The land was subject to resumption by the state, if it went out of the custody of Brāhmaṇas.

Fa Hsien paints in roseate colours the general state of the country. "It has a temperate climate, without frost or snow; and the people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the king's land have to pay so much on the profit they make. Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop may stop. The king in his administration uses no corporal punishments; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The men of the king's bodyguard have all fixed salaries.........As a medium of exchange they use cowries [for small change].........From

1. G. I., pp. 238-9.

the date of Buddha's disappearance from the world, the king, elders, and gentry of the countries round about, built shrines for making offerings to the priests, and gave them lands, houses, gardens, with men and bullocks [attached to the lands] for cultivation. Binding title-deeds [copper-plate grants] were written out, and subsequent kings have handed these down one to another without daring to disregard them, in unbroken succession to this day."[1] Though writing was freely used for business purposes, scriptures were handed down orally and their Mss. were difficult to obtain for Fa-Hsien to copy from.

The Deccan was beyond the ambit of Fa Hsien's travels; hence his description of the Deccan is based on 'what he heard from the natives.' He says that "it is mountainous and its roads difficult for travellers; even those who know the way, if they wish to travel, should send a present of money to the king [he is speaking of the region round Śrī Parvata hill in the Kurnool district and the king he refers to must have been a Vākāṭaka king] who will thereupon depute men to escort them and pass them on from one stage to another, showing them the short cuts."[2] Besides the usual amusements of kings Cosmas Indicopleustes describes an elephant fight got up "as a spectacle for the king. For this purpose they set up between the two elephants a pair of upright timbers with a great cross beam fastened to them which reaches as it might be to the chests of the elephants. A number of men are also stationed on this side and that to prevent the animals coming to close quarters, but at the same time to stir them up to engage one another. And so the beasts thrash each other with their trunks till at length one of them gives in."

1. T. F., pp. 20-21.

2. T. F., p. 63.

References to wells and tanks for the purpose of irrigation have occurred frequently but incidentally, in the inscriptions quoted in this chapter. Thus we hear of the *rājataṭāka*, royal tank, the Great Lake of Paruvi, *etc.*, and these indicate the anxiety of kings to improve the yield of cultivated lands. It has always beeu regarded as an act of religious merit to provide wells and tanks for drinking and bathing purposes. A few specimens of such charities belonging to this period may be noted. Two years after Yaśodharma's victory over Mihiragula, Dakṣa, the brother of Dharmadōṣa, a royal officer (*rājasthānīya*), who wore 'royal apparel (*nṛpativēṣam*) only as a mark of distinction (and not for his own pleasure) just as a bull carries a wrinkled pendulous dewlap' and ruled the country between the western ocean on the one side and on the other the Vindhyas and the Pāriyātra (Aravalli) mountain, constructed a large well at Mandasōr.[1]

The lake Sudarśana (built in the time of Candra-Gupta Maurya) burst in consequence of excessive rain. The breach was cured[2] by the rebuilding of the embankment 100 cubits long, 68 broad and of seven men's height, of masonry work, made after two months' labour under the orders of Cakrapālita, Governor of Junāgaḍh, and son of Parṇadatta, Viceroy of Surāṣṭra in 457 A.D. Kākusthavarma, the Kadamba monarch caused to be built at Sthāṇukundūra (Tālagund in the Shimoga Dt., Mysore state) a "great tank, a reservoir for the supply of abundant water" near "the home of perfection of the holy God Bhava" (Śiva), "which was worshipped with faith by Sātakarṇi and other pious kings."[3] The Eastern Gaṅga

1. G. I., p. 157.
2. G I., pp. 62-5.
3. E.I., viii, pp. 36,

kings mention two tanks which they built.[1] The Western Gaṅga King Mādhava II donated 65 paddyfields (*kedāra*) below the tank of Paruvi (Parigi near Hindupur in the Anantapur District) to a Brāhmaṇa.[2]

There was an extraordinary development of the fine arts in this period, when great emperors flourished throughout the country. The monuments of the age are of various kinds—cave-temples, stone-pillars, timber and brick temples, stone-temples, statuary and stone-carving, painting, and the products of miniature works of art made by craftsmen. These arts were directly evolved out of those of the previous period and reached a high stage of perfection. Stone-architecture was still mainly confined to the excavation of cave temples; but they were larger and more elaborately worked than those of the previous centuries. Two cave temples were made in the time of Candra Gupta II in the Udayagiri hill near Besnagar in the Bhopāl state, Central India. The first, a Vaiṣṇava one and, "is entered by a portal with the so-called bell-capital, being really an inverted lotus capital, pilasters, each supporting a river-goddess (Gaṅgā) standing on a *makara* or conventional crocodile."[3] The figures are vigorously chiselled out and the pose beautiful. In the second there are "two figures, one of the four-armed god Viṣṇu, attended by his two wives, and one of a twelve armed goddess."[4] There is another cave temple at Udayagiri with a principal room and another to the east, the entrance to the latter being "a partly natural and partly artificial low arch." In 426 A.D. the image of Pārśvanātha, 'richly endowed with the

1. E.I., iii, pp. 20, 128.
2. E.I., xiv, p. 336.
3. H.F.A.I.C., p. 160.
4. G.I., p. 22.

expanded hoods of a snake', was installed at the mouth of the cave, by a Jaina called Śaṅkara, son of a cavalry officer (*aśvapati*). Besides these, there is in the same hill a cave dwelling intended for Jaina monks, "not very easy of access, in consequence of its having to be entered by a narrow and steep flight of steps on the very edge of the cliff."[1]

The caves of Bāgh, not far from Gwālior, which are in various stages of decay were made in this age; so also many of the 21 caves of Ajantā in the Nizam's dominions were excavated in this period by Vākāṭaka Mahārājas and their ministers. The caves are cut in the face of a hill at the foot of a pass across the hills which divide the tableland of the Deccan from Khāndesh. Near Bādāmi, the capital of the Cāḷukyas there are five caves excavated about the end of the VI century. Near the caves there are two rock-cut bas-reliefs, one of Nārāyaṇa Anantaśāyī and another of Padmapāṇi. One is a Śaiva cave, three Vaiśṇava ones, and the fifth a Jaina one containing images of *tīrthaṅkaras*; besides these there is an unfinished Bauddha cave.

The most wonderful of the cave dwellings of India is that of which Fa-Hsien has left a description based on hearsay. In the Deccan "there is a monastery dedicated to Kāsyapa Buddha, made by hollowing out a great rock. It has five storeys in all; the lowest being in the form of an elephant, with five hundred stone chambers; the second in the form of a lion, with four hundred stone chambers; the third in the form of a horse, with three hundred chambers; the fourth in the form of an ox, with two hundred chambers; and the fifth in the form of a dove, with one hundred chambers. At the very top there is a spring of water which runs in front of each chamber, encircling

1. G.I., p. 258.

each storey, round and round, in and out, until it reaches the bottom storey where, following the configuration of the excavations, it flows out by the door. In all the priests' chambers, the rock has been pierced for windows to admit light so that they are quite bright and nowhere dark. At the four corners of these excavations the rock has been bored and steps have been made by which the top can be reached.............This monastery (is) called Pāravā, which in the language of India means Columbarium.'[1] The caves were of course for Bauddha monks to live comfortably in ; Jaina caves, where the monks died by practising *Sallekhana*, were on the other hand inaccessible and not made with a view to comfort.

Several pillars have been referred to in connection with the inscriptions engraved on them. Of these those of Kumāra Gupta (416 A.D.) at Bilsad were built in two pairs in front of a temple, and probably the two grand columns of Mandasōr in which Yaśodharma's conquests are recorded formed a *Toraṇa* or gateway. The base of Yasodharma's pillar is rectangular and its shaft, 40 ft. high, is sixteen sided, on five faces of which the inscription is engraved. The column tapers slightly from bottom to top. On its top was a capital in the form of an inverted lotus surrounded by a square upper part, each side of which "had a bas-relief sculpture of two lions, each sitting on its haunches and facing to the corner, where it merges into the corresponding corner-lion on the next side, with the head of a conventional *siṁha* or mythological lion in the centre, over the backs of the lions."[2] Probably statues stood on the top of this. Twenty yards north of this column was erected a duplicate with a copy of the inscription cut upon it.

1. T.F., pp. 62-63.
2. G.I., pp. 144.

A very illegible inscription of the same reign at Bihār calls the pillar on which it is cut a *yūpa* (sacrificial post), and it probably stood in a grove containing "groups of fig-trees and castor-oil plants, the tops of which were bent down by the weight of their flowers," and near "a group of temples, not (rivalled by) anything else that could be compared with it in the world," phrases which occur in the inscription.[1]

The Kahāuṁ pillar of Skanda Gupta has five standing naked figures of *Tīrthaṅkaras.* The Eraṇ inscription of Buddha Gupta is cut on a large monolith which stands near a group of temples. Another Eraṇ pillar has already been described. At Bijayagaḍh in the Bharatpur state has been found a pillar (*yūpa*) to commemorate the celebration of a *pauṇḍarīka yāga* in 372 A.D. A round pillar was gifted at Sāñcī in the fifth century. The constant association of pillars with temples shows how the amalgamation of different cults has been at the root of evolution of religion in India. Rivalling in metallurgical skill the colossal copper statue of Buddha, stands the Iron Pillar of Delhi, 23 feet 8 inches high, its diameter diminishing from 16·4 inches to 12·05 inches. It is of pure malleable iron welded together and the weight has been estimated to exceed 6 tons. The inscription celebrates the exploits of one Candra. Almost every king named Candra who lived in the III, IV or V century has been proposed, with more ingenuity than a sense of historical evidence, to be identified with the Candra of this pillar-inscription. The statue which surmounted this has been lost; it is a Vaiṣṇava column. Of the *satī*-pillar regarding Gopadeva's wife (510 A.D.) "the bottom part is octagonal; and the inscription is at the top of this octagonal part, on three of the eight faces. Above this,

1. G.I., pp. 50-51.

the pillar is sixteen-sided. Above this, it is again octagonal; and the faces here have sculptures of men and women..........; the compartment immediately above the centre of the inscription, represents a man and a woman, sitting who must be Gōparāja and his wife. Above this, the pillar is again sixteen-sided. Above this, it is once more octagonal.........Above this, the pillar curves over in sixteen flutes or ribs, into a round top. The pillar was (in later times presumably) converted into a *liṅga*, by fitting an ablution-trough (Tel. *pāṇivaṭṭam*, Tam. *āvuḍai*) to it."[1]

Brick architecture superseded timber-architecture when the forests had been denuded of the hard woods which formed the material from the earliest ages for building temples and palaces and their ornamentation with carving. The great length of the period when wood alone was the material for architecture and sculpture and the instincts of the artists which impelled them to carve figures on a more and more elaborate scale are the reasons why Indian art prefers complexity of design and richness of detail to the perfection of the single figure and the plainness of decoration and the self-restraint which characterise Hellenic art. When brick and later stone became the materials of art-work the complex construction and eleborate ornamentation of wooden structures were transferred to the new materials, notwithstanding the extraordinary difficulty of reproducing in brick or stone the *motifs* fit for woodwork. Every early work in brick or stone reproduces with great faithfulness the art-forms imitated from wood-structures. Much of this brick-architecture has disappeared on account of the destroying hand of time or man; but carved and moulded bricks can be picked up in abundance where old brick-buildings

1. G.I., p. 91.

stood; such as the Buddhist structures of Saṅkiśa, Kōśāmbī, Śrāvastī, and Bōdh Gayā, and the Gupta temples at Bilsar, Bhitargāon, and Bhitarī. Brick-architecture has continued down to the modern days where the difficulty of procuriug stone or cheapness required it.

The oldest brick temple still standing, is that of Bhītargāon 20 miles to the South of Cawnpore. "It is built of large-sized bricks (17½" by 10½" by 3") and decorated with well-modelled terra-cota panels alternating with ornamental pilasters,"[1] belonging to the Gupta period, if not earlier. The cella is 15′ square and the porch in front of it 7′ square. Figures of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, four-armed Durgā and Gaṇēśa adorn its walls. On the East wall on both-sides of the porch are representations of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which "are usually found flanking the entrance of ancient temples all over North India". On the pilasters separating the panels there is a double cornice of carved brick work; between the cornices runs a frieze of smaller rectangular panels exhibiting "a marvellous variety of decorative designs." "The spire of the Bhītargāon temple with its rows of heads peeping. as it were, out of so many dormer windows bears a curious resemblance to some of the so-called Raths at Māmallapuram near Madras [c. 650 A.D.] and also to the Chandi Bhīma on the Dieng plateau in Central Jāvā [809 A.D.]"[2], thus proving the essential identity of Indian art, as of all other Indian culture throughout the ages.

At Tegowa in the Jabalpur Dt., a temple of the V or VI contury dedicated to Kaṅkālīdēvī contains a carving of Viṣṇu and his nine *avatāras—i.e.*, the usual ten with Buddha omitted.[3]

1. A.S.I.R., 1908-9, p. 6.
2. *Ib.* p. 11.
3. A. S.I.R., 1907-8, pp. 233-234.

In Kāṭhiāwāḍ, at Gop in the Barda hills, the interior walls and roof of the cella of a temple are standing. The roof is in the Kāśmīrī style and was built probably during the Kāśmīrī occupation of the neighbouring state of Mālwā during the reign of Śīlāditya. "The stepped out pyramidal roof, with its prominent window-like arched niches, and the trefoil arches around its basement, are marked features"[1] of Kāśmīrī work, which used wood as material for a very long time after wood was superseded by brick and stone in the rest of the country.

The Kadambas, were not behindhand of the other dynasties in architectural activities. The early temples were roofed with a series of planks overlapping one another, because of the excessive rainfall of the region during the fierce monsoon blows. Stone slabs superseded the wooden planks when stone was substituted for timber as the material for the construction of temples. Wooden screens made of the split stems of the palm ran round the temples, and these were later imitated in stone. Square pillars such as were made when stone architecture first began supported the roof. The rest of South India stuck to wooden architecture in this period. Except for a few stone images of Buddha found in or near the temples of Kāñcī,[2] there are no relics of stone sculpture of this period in the Tamil country.

Splendid images of Gods were carved in this age. In Mankuwār village on the Yamunā in the Allahābād district has been found an image of Buddha, made in 449 A.D. It "represents Buddha, seated; wearing a plain cap, fitting close to the head, with long lappets on each side; and naked to the waist, and clad below in a waist-cloth, reaching to the ankles............(Besides this,

1. A.A.W.I., p 13.
2. I.A., xliv, pp. 128-129.

there is) a compartment of sculptures, containing in the centre, a Buddhist wheel; on each side of the wheel, a man seated in meditation, and facing full-front; and at each corner, a lion."[1] At Kosam (Kōśāmbī) in the Allahābād district, has been found a sculpture, standing group of Śiva and Pārvatī, each with the right hand raised and an open palm turned to the front. The head-dress of the goddess is described as a most elaborate construction, which recalls that 'of some Dutch women, and consists of a huge, transverse, comb-like ornament projecting beyond the side of the head, and terminating on both sides in large wheel-like ornaments, from the centre of which depends a large tassel. There are huge ear ornaments and very massive bangles.'[2] "A colossal stone statue of Buddha, recumbent in the act of attaining *nirvāṇa*"[3] has been found at Kasia in the Gōrakhpur district, as also one of Buddha, "draped, and with a nimbus behind his head and shoulders,"[4] at Mathurā. The most splendid of the images of this period are found in the panels on the facades of a temple at Deoghar in the Jhānsi district, U.P. One represents Śiva in the garb of an ascetic (*mahāyōgi*), attended by another *yōgi* and various heavenly beings hovering in the air. "The principal image is beautifully modelled and tastefully posed... ......The flying figures are admirably designed so as to give the appearance of aerial flight. The modelling of the feet and hands deserves particular notice, and the decorative carvings are in good taste. The close-fitting garments of all the figures and the wigs of some of the attendants are characteristic of the period."[5] Grander

1. G.I., p. 45-46.
2. H.F.A.I.C., p. 162.
3. G I., p. 272.
4. *Ib.* p. 273.
5. H.F.A.I.C., p. 162.

still is another panel where is carved Kṣīrābdhi Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu sleeping on the serpent—couch (Anantaśāyī or Śeṣaśāyī). This is the earliest image in stone of that most honoured form of Viṣṇu, found in some of the Viṣṇu temples of South India which are most often resorted to by pilgrims, e.g. Śrīraṅgam in the Trichinopoly district. Another sculpture, noted for 'the beauty and artistic grace of the composition,' is that of Kṛṣṇa lying by the side of his mother, found at Paṭhāri in the Bhopal agency. Several Buddhas, standing and seated, of this age have been discovered, including a copper image 7½ feet high, and nearly a ton in weight.

Four of the Bādāmi caves contain splendid bas-reliefs, the group-statuary being very spirited: The figures of Śiva and Pārvatī seated, Mahiṣāsuramardanī, Naṭarāja, Kārttikeya, Harihara, Arddhanārīśvara, Anantaśāyī, Ganeśa, Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī, the panel containing images of Viṣṇu, Indra and Brahma, besides lay human figures in amorous attitudes, the Varāha avatāra, the Vāmana avatāra, the churning of the ocean, and series of story-sculptures. The carving of story-sculptures gradually declined when cave-architecture was succeeded a few centuries later by structural temples, but small panels lingered on almost to about 1000 A.D. Notwithstanding the great skill displayed in carving on friezes and on extensive rock-surfaces, the cave pillars of the period were square and unornamented, only a few being rounded and fluted.

The Ajantā caves contain "the most important mass of ancient painting extant in the world, Pompeii only excepted," executed in this period and the next. The frescoes are painted on a composition of clay, cow-dung, pulverised rock, boiled ragi flour, and some times rice husks, with a coating of egg-shell of fine plaster laid on. This has given more lasting life to Indian frescoes

than that which the frescoes of other countries have enjoyed. The variety and complexity of the designs are infinite. At Bāgh in Gwālior state there are caves with paintings, quite as good as those of Ajantā. These wonderful paintings were the result of the uninterrupted development of the art from pre-Christian times. "The school which these paintings represent was the source and fountainhead from which half the art of Asia drew its inspiration, and no one can study its rhythmic composition, their instinctive beauty of line, the majestic grace of their figures, and the boundless wealth of their decorative imagery without realising what a far-reaching influence they exerted on the art, not of India alone and her colonies, but of every other country to which the religion of the Buddha penetrated. They will bear comparison with the best that Europe could produce down to the time of Michael Angelo."[1] The *Vihara* caves and the *Caitya* caves are of the style of the Ajantā ones with decorated pillars, pilasters and sculptures; one statue of the Buddha being 10 feet 4 ins. high and the pilasters ornamented with the 'pot and foliage' designs. Numerous statues of Yakṣas and Nāgas abound, as well of Gaṅgā and Yamunā statues like those of Gupta temples. But the frescoes of the Bāgh caves constitute their chief claim to fame. Pictures of elephant processions, of horsemen and incidents of ordinary life are of very great interest; pictures of the *nautch*, the dancing woman wearing, as today, striped trousers beneath flowing *sāris*, bodices with short or long sleeves and other women, full-dressed or half nude, playing on the *mṛdaṅga*, the cymbals (*tāḷa*) and wooden sticks (*daṇḍa*) are exactly like those used in modern entertainments. For 1,500 years fashions have remained unaltered throughout India. The picture of a

1. Bāgh Caves, p. 4.

dance in which men take part expresses "in a wreath of interwoven line and form the rhythm and the music of the dance." The horses carry the *cāmara* (yak-tails) on their heads. Servant women wore bodices and their mistresses were nude down to the waist, otherwise clothed in triped *sāris* and ornamented with ear-rings, necklets of beads, pearls and gems, bracelets and anklets.[1] One of the pictorial compositions covered 220 feet of wall space, out of which a fragment of 45 feet remains. One remarkable character of these paintings is 'psychological perspective' and not optical, i.e., "an insect must share in the festival of artistic devotion; it must therefore submit to enlargement in order to fill its allotted space. An elephant per contra must be content with microscopic proportion. The same principle is seen in the deep frieze of scroll-work that apparently ran round the great Raṅgamahal (colour-cave) (in cave IV) and must have given to the regal dimensions and the sense of power in its forest of great pillars the counterbalance of unity and delicacy. Here the rhythmic element is at its highest, sweeping the kingdom of nature into its vortices of joy, asking only that they be content, without the precedent of quantity, to take their place in the outward sweep of Ānanda (bliss) of creation. Here painting, poetry and music are one."[2]

One of the minor arts of the period, was that of making inscribed seals. A copper seal of a Nāga king of the IV century bears on its top a recumbent bull; one of a Maukhari king, "a bull decorated with a garland; beyond it or perhaps attached to its off-side, there is an umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers; in front of the bull, there is a man walking who

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1. *Ib.*
2. *Ib.* p. 71.

carries in his right hand a curved double axe on a short transverse handle, and in his left hand, either a standard, with a wheel or sun-emblem on the top of it or perhaps an *abdāgir* or sunshade ;...........behind the bull there follows another man, who carries in his left hand an ordinary long handed double axe, and in his right either a *cauri*-brush or a stick with which he is driving the bullock."[1] The silver seal of Kumāra Gupta, has the figure of Garuḍa, "executed in tolerably high relief. He is represented standing on a base composed of two parallel lines, facing front, with outspread wings. His face is that of a man, broad and full, with thick lips. His hair is arranged exactly like the wig of an English judge. A snake is twined round his neck, its head projecting above his left shoulder." A circle intended doubtless for the discus of Viṣṇu, who rides on Garuḍa, is faintly indicated in the field to the proper right of the figure, and a corresponding dim mark on the proper left is probably intended for the conch-shell of the God.[2]

The excavations at Basāḍh (Vaiśālī) have brought out seals of government officers, and also of merchants (*kulika*), bankers (*śreṣṭhis*) caravan-merchants (*sārthka-vāha*), *etc.* "Generally two or even more of the seals of private individuals are found in combination with each other or with the seal of the gild of bankers, etc., of which evidently most of them were members. It looks as if during those days something like a modern chamber of commerce existed in Upper India at some big trading centre".[1] The owners of the seals "carried on business transactions with the royal family of Vaiśālī". The pervasion of religion in all worldly business, so characteristic of India, is testified to by the occurrence of such seal-legends as 'Dharma protects the protected', *dharmmo*

1. G.I., p. 219.
2. J.A.S.B., 1889 p. 85.

rakṣati rakṣita, 'adoration to Him', *namas tasmai*, and seal-emblems of *Viṣṇupāda*, feet of Viṣṇu, *cakra* and *śaṅkha* 'wheel and conch', *triśūla*, trident, *etc.*[1]

The excavations at Bhiṭā near Allahābād throw light on the life of ordinary burghers in the IV to the VI century A.D. Among other things were found toy tricycles of baked clay, *mṛcchakaṭikā*, which gave its name to a famous Sanskrit drama. Houses then consisted "of a central courtyard enclosed by a row of rooms on the four sides. Hence the Sanskrit term *catuḥśāla*, meaning " a building of four halls". It will be noticed that the plan of the Buddhist convent was developed out of the simple dwelling-house. From hundreds of terra-cotta figures recovered it can be seen that "the modes of dressing the hair were as numerous then as they are among women today, and perhaps even more startling. The men, certainly, must have been foppish to a degree, with their long curls falling loose on one side only, or elaborated like a full Georgian wig, or coiffured with jewels in the Antoinette manner, or arranged more severely in the regal style of Persia."[2]

The trade of India, internal and external developed steadily. No other evidence is wanted for this than the fact that merchant-gilds flourished in all important places, and that individual merchants built temples and established *sattras* and hospitals and took charge of temple-endowments. Trade with Europe continued, notwithstanding the steady decline of Rome. Alaric in 408 A.D. demanded from Rome among other things 4,000 silk robes and 3,000 pounds of pepper and this he would not have done, had he not been sure that Rome possessed or could get from India such a large supply.

1. A.S.I.R., 1903-4, pp. 104-5.
2. A.S.I.R., 1909-10, p. 40-41.

Coins of the later Roman emperors have been found in North and South India, proving that the Indian trade did not suffer from "the dreadful chaos in the west (and) the constant troubles of Egypt" during those reigns. Moreover when "in 476 the Western Empire was extinguished", "the Eastern Empire, more stable, solid, and wealthy, and placed nearer to the Far East, had a better chance" of trade in Indian articles, "and among its subjects the demand for Oriential luxuries was large."[1] "There was a revival of commerce with the East, as the evidence of literature, of coins, and of archaeology shows."[2] This trade was not a direct sea trade, because the cruel treatment of the Alexandrians by Caracalla early in the III century had diminished its importance and Palmyra became the entrepot of Indian commerce and hence a very rich city. The Sassānians ruled over Persia and controlled the Persian Gulf, the land-routes and the silk trade. The destruction of Palmyra did not affect the course of this trade. Indian traders still sailed up the Euphrates and carried their goods thence inland. Abyssinian power rose at Adule and provided another indirect route to Europe; and through the Abyssinian and Persian hands passed the trade in silk, pearls, aromatics and precious stones. In the V and VI centuries this trade improved considerably. One indication of the intimate intercourse between India and Persia is the fact that Sassānian coins have been found in Afghānistān; another is the influence Sassānian coinage exerted on the coinage of North-Western India. Cultural contact also resulted from this trade. Under Khusrū Anūśirvān (531-579 A.D.) Burzōe translated the *Pañcatantra* into the Pahlavī tongue; from thence it was translated into Syriāc by Būd (570 A.D.) Treatises on the art of war, on

1. C.R.E.I., p. 140.
2. C.R.E.I., p. 139.

weapons, veterinary science, omenology, medicine and the art of love gave birth to Persian books on these subjects and when Persia was conquered by the Muslim in the next age, all this knowledge first tamed down the fiery spirit of the Arabs and helped them to benefit by the civilizing influence of literature.

An account of the foreign trade of India, rather brief, is found in the story of the travels of the Alexandrian Greek monk, Cosmas Indicopleustes to the East. He mentions many interesting points with regard to the trade of India and Ceylon in his *Topographia Christiana.* Incidentally he refers to the Christians of Calliana (a mistake probably for Kollam, Quilon) whose "bishop was appointed from Persia." He describes the Indian animals, the rhinoceros, the 'bull-stag' which carried loads of pepper, (probably the buffalo), the 'wild ox' whose tail was used to adorn horses (probably the yāk); the musk animal, whose Indian name, *kastūri*, he gives correctly and the popular superstition about it (*i.e.* musk was derived from the navel of the animal) he solemnly records, the hippopotamus, the pepper-plant, the cocoanut, fresh and dried, and the turtle whose flesh is like mutton. The articles of trade were practically the same as the more costly articles which Imperial Rome had obtained from India. Speaking of Ceylon, whose ruby (which he calls hyacinth) was much sought after, he says, "From all India and Persia and Ethiopia many ships come to this island and it likewise sends out many of its own, occupying as it does a central position. And from the remoter regions.........the imports to Taprobane (Ceylon) are silks, aloes-wood, cloves, sandalwood and so forth...........These again are passed on from Sielediba (Sinhaladvīpa) to the marts on this side, such as Mala (Malabār) where the pepper is grown and Kalliana (Quilon) whence are exported brass (i.e. bell-metal), and *sisam*-logs and other wares.........; also to

Sindu, where you get the musk or castorin and androstaclyn (perhaps spikenard)."[1] He names a number of ports on the west coast and possibly also Kāvērippaṭṭanam on the East Coast, which he calls Kaber (Ptolemy's Khaberis). He mentions also the fact that horses were imported by the king of Ceylon (and he ought to have added those of the Tamil country), who "grants special immunities to those who import them" and that African ivory was imported into India.

Fa Hsien testifies to the prevalence of trade between Ceylon and China and the intermediate islands. He travelled along with merchants, Brāhmaṇas and others in ships that touched at Jāvā and other islands as well as the continental sea coast. From the Tamil coast, too, and especially from Kāvērippaṭṭanam the chief Cōḷa port and Māmallapuram (Mallai) the chief Pallava port, as well as from the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī and the Kaliṅga ports trading vessels plied to Burma, Malacca, Siam, Annam, China and the eastern islands. In this age were laid the foundations of "Greater India", and Brāhmaṇas carried the civilization of India and planted Indian colonies on the coasts of the continental and insular regions. The great colonial kingdoms founded by Indian Rājās became important enough to deserve a small place in an account of the history of India.

The outflow of culture to Indo-China continued steadily in this period. Another Kauṇḍinya reached Funan in the end of the IV century A.D. The people chose him as a successor to king Candana, who had sent an embassy to China in 357 A.D. Kauṇḍinya "changed all the rules according to the methods of India." His successor sent another ambassy to China in 434 A.D. The latter's successor Jayavarma sent traders to Canton

1. C.W.T., p. 237.

about 478 A.D. They brought back from China an Indian residing there, of the name of Nāgasena. Nāgasena was sent back to China as an embassador of Funan. He informed the Chinese that the cult of Maheśvara flourished in Funan and a Bodhisattva had liberated the people from worldly ties. Indian customs prevailed in Funan. "They adore the genii of heaven. Of these divinities they make images of bronze; some of them have two faces and four arms, others have four faces and eight arms. In each arm something is held.........For mourning the custom is to shave the beard and the hair." Jayavarma sent two monks to China to translate the Bauddha scriptures (506-512 A.D.). The translations still exist. Jayavarma died in 514 A.D. and was succeeded by Rudravarma.

Kambuja, founded by Śrutavarma was at first as vassal to Funan. But at the end of the VI century its king Bhavavarma and his brother Citrasēna raised Kambuja to the rank of an independent kingdom and reduced Funan to submission.[1] Bhavavarma seems to have ruled over a wide extent of territory reaching on the west to the Eastern part of Siam. Several inscriptions of the time of Bhavavarma, in correct classical Sanskrit have been discovered. One says, "with the offering of treasures, won by might of the bow, this *liṅga* of Tryanbaka has been consecrated by the king Śrī Bhavavarman who holds the two worlds in his hands." Another inscription, that of the lord of Ugrapura in the service of Bhavavarma, is a small poem in the regular *kāvya* style. A sister of Bhavavarma married Śrī Somaśarma, a Sāmavēdī; he arranged for the daily reading of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the *Purāṇa*, and the *Bhārata* in a temple where he consecrated Śiva together with the sun, "with acts of worship and offerings on a grand scale." Another inscription, of the

1. I.C.I.C., pp. 21-27.

period mentions the consecration of a Śivaliṅga, a Durgā, and a Śambhu-Viṣṇu.[1] "Sanskrit was the ecclesiastical and official language (of Kambuja)..........The worship of Śiva seems to have been the principal cultus and to some extent the state religion.........but there is no trace of hostility to Viṣṇuism and the earlier inscriptions constantly celebrate the praises of the compound deity Viṣṇu-Śiva, known under such names as Hari-Hara, Śambhu-Viṣṇu, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, etc."[2] Mahāyāna Buddhism also existed but mixed up with the Śiva cult.

In Campā, a second dynasty arose in the IV century A.D. The Kingdom consisted of the three provinces of Amarāvatī, Vijaya and Paṇḍuranga. One of its kings, Dharma Mahārāja Śrī Bhadravarma I (380-413 A.D.), built new temples to Śiva, of which one was dedicated to Bhadreśvara. Three of his inscriptions have been recovered. His son was Gaṅgarāja. He abdicated the throne and went to India to bathe in the Gaṅgā. This event was followed by civil wars till the ruling family was dispossessed of the kingdom by a third dynasty about 420 A.D. The Chinese invaded Campā during the period of this new dynasty. After the Chinese invasion, the son of Jayavarma of Funan usurped the throne in the middle of the V cent. A.D., and received the title of "general, pacifier of the South" from the emperor of China. The last king of this dynasty was Vijayavarma, the son of Devavarma; he died in 529 A.D. The fourth dynasty was founded by Sri Rudravarma I, described as the son of Brāhmaṇa and hence called *Brahma-Kṣatriya Kulatilaka*. During his reign a fire destroyed the Bhadreśvara temple built by Bhadravarma I. When his son Praśastavarma, also Śambhuvarmā reigned, the Chinese invaded Campā and took away numerous Bauddha works.[3]

1. *Ib.*, pp. 36-41.
2. H. B., iii, pp. 113-114.
3. For details see *Champa*. *Ed.*

He rebuilt the Bhadreśvara temple and renamed it Śambhu-Bhadreśvara temple and gave grants for its maintenance. He died in 629 A.D. "The religion of Campā was practically identical with that of Kambuja............In both countries the national religion was Hinduism, mainly of the Śivaite type, accompanied by Mahāyānist Buddhism which occasionally came to the front under royal patronage."[1]

In Sumātrā, Hindu colonies were established early. The states of Indragiri, near the equator, and Kandali near Palembang rose. Chinese annals say that the customs of the people there were like those of Kambuja. Kandali sent envoys to China between 454 and 589. In the absence of local literature or inscription very little is known about the early Sumātrā Indian dynasties.

In west Jāvā have been found three inscriptions in characters of about 400 A.D. They are in Sanskrit and eulogize Pūrṇavarma, a Vaiṣṇava prince. Fa Hsian, on his way to China, stayed in Jāvā, which he called Yavadi, in 418 A.D.; he found heretics and Brāhmaṇas flourishing there, but the law of Buddha hardly deserved mention. In 423 A D. Guṇavarma, a prince of Kāśmīr, who had become a Bauddha monk, reached Jāvā in 423 A.D. and converted many people to Buddhism, before he left for China. "In 435 A.D. according to the Liu Sung annals a king of Ja-va-da named Shih-li-pa-da-do-a-la-pa-mo sent tribute to China. The king's name probably represents a Sanskrit title beginning with Śrī Pāda and it is noticeable that two footprints [*viṣṇu-pāda*] are carved on the stones which bear Pūrṇavarma's inscriptions. Also Sanskrit inscriptions found at Koetei on the east coast of Borneo and considered to be not later than the fifth century record the piety and gifts to

1. H. B., iii, p. 145.

Brāhmaṇas of a king Mūlavarma".[1] "The Tang annals speak definitely of Kaling, otherwise called Jāvā, as lying between Sumātrā and Bāli and say that the inhabitants have letters and understand a little astronomy."[2] Besides these detached facts nothing else has been recovered about the Hindu colonies in Jāvā before the VII century.

Jāvā was visited by Fa Hsien in 418 A D. He says that there "heretics and Brāhmaṇas flourish but the law of Buddha hardly deserves mentioning". The earliest Jāvānese Sanskrit inscription refers to Aśvavarma, who was the founder of the first Hindu dynasty in Jāvā. It is in the Pallava script of the IV century. His son Mūlavarma celebrated a *bahusuvarṇaka* sacrifice, for which several *yūpas* (sacrifical posts) had been prepared by Brāhmaṇas. Fragments of these stone posts have been discovered along with the inscription."[3] Inscriptions assigned to the V cent. eulogize a Vaiṣṇava prince of the name of Pūrṇavarma. Buddhism was probably first preached in Jāvā by Guṇavarma, who stayed in the island on his way to China. Sumātrā, Bāli and Borneo participated in this Hindu culture.

In Borneo three inscriptions have been found at Koetei on the East coast, of a date not later than the V century. They record donations made, to Brāhmaṇas who performed a *yāga* there, by Mūlavarma, son of Aśvavarma and grandson of Kuṇḍagga. The last name is a variant of Kauṇḍinya, the founder of royal families in those regions. The intercourse of India with China seems to have been interrupted in the II and III centuries probably on account of the hostilities between the Chinese

1. H. B., iii, p. 154.
2. *Ibid.*
3. I.C. in J. and S. 10-1.

kings and the Kuṣāṇa monarchs. But in the IV century sea-trade was resumed as is evident from Fa Hsian's reference to the trade between Ceylon and China. Besides this, the Eastern Tsin kings who resided at Nanking, 317-420 A.D. are said to have had started intercourse with the Ceylon court. In 405 A.D. a jade image of Buddha was sent as a present to the Chinese king. Embassies also went from Ceylon to China from the Simhala Rājā Mananama in 428 A.D.; others went in 430, 435 and 456. The last was composed of five priests of whom one was a sculptor. In 575 A.D. Kumāra Dāsa, on succeeding to the throne sent an envoy to China to announce the event and other embassies went in 523, 527, and 531. The Chinese say that the king of Kāniśa, by name 'Loved of the moon' (Candragupta) sent a diamond ring, a gold bracelet, red and white parrots, *etc.* in 428 A.D. to the emperor, Wu Ti. Other missions are said to have gone from the same court in 466 and 500-4, the last with a trained horse; in 441, 455, 466, and 473 other Buddhist kingdoms in or adjoining India sent tribute. In 502 Kioto (Gupta ?) sent a spitton of lapis lazuli, perfumes, cotton stuffs, *etc.* This king's territory adjoined the great river Sinthus (Indus) with its five branches. Rocksalt like crystal was found in that land..........In 520 A.D. Bodhidharma a South Indian prince (son of Acyuta Vikranta ?, the Kaḷabhra king) went to China and was reckoned a saint and his miracles are a favourite subject of Chinese artists.[1]

The Indian monk who gave a very great inpetus to Buddhism in China was Kumārajīva, (d. 416 A.D.) along with whom Dharma Rakṣa and several others worked, and produced innumerable books. In the V century Guṇavarma, a Kāśmīr prince, resigned his claims to the throne,

1. C. W. I. I., pp. 67-68.

turned monk, travelled to Ceylon and Jāvā; in the latter island he introduced Buddhism and was invited to China. There he preached, translated and established a *Saṅgha* of Chinese nuns. More Indian monks poured into China in the V and VI centuries. The greatest of them were Jinagupta and Paramārtha. The latter wrote, among other things, on Logic. The former wrote 36 books. About the end of the VI century Buddhism became unpopular with the emperors. In 539 A.D. a Chinese mission was sent to Magadha by the Liang emperor "for the purpose of collecting original Mahāyānist texts and obtaining the services of a scholar competent to translate them. The local king probably either Jīvita Gupta I or Kumāra Gupta, gladly complied with the wishes of his imperial correspondent, and placed the learned Paramārtha at the disposal of the mission, which seems to have spent several years in India. Paramārtha then went to China, taking with him a large collection of MSS., many of which he translated. He arrived in the neighbourhood of Canton in A.D. 546, was presented to the Emperor in 548, and died in China in 569, at the age of seventy."[1]

1. *Ib.*, p. 331.

CHAPTER XIV

THE BEGINNINGS OF INTERNAL CONFLICTS (600 A.D.—900 A.D.)

i. Seventh Century.

Prabhākara Varddhana of Thānesar[1] (Sthāneśvara, Kurukṣetra) assumed the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, when this imperial title slipped from the hands of other sovereigns on account of their weakness. According to Bāṇa, the biographer of his son, "Prabhākaravardhana, famed far and wide under a second name Pratāpaśīla, (was) a lion to the Hūṇa deer, a burning fever to the king of the Indus land, a troubler of the sleep of Gujarāt, a bilious plague to that scent-elephant the lord of Gāndhāra, a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāṭas (the people of Southern Gujarāt), an axe to the creeper of Mālwā's glory."[2] From a literal understanding of this vague euology, Prabhākaravardhana, has been spoken of as a great victor. Yuan Chwang says that his kingdom was "7000 *li* (about 1200 miles) in circuit, the capital 20 *li* or so............There are three *saṅghārāmas* in this country, with about 700 priests...: ....(but) there are some hundred Deva temples and sectaries of various kinds in great number. On every side of the capital within a precinct of 200 *li* in circuit is an area called by the men of this place 'the land of ~~religious~~ merit' (*dharmakṣetra*)."[3] The association of the place with Vedic sacrifices from very

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1. According to H. C. Puṣpabhūti was the founder of this Vardhana family. Hence the dynasty is also known as the Puṣpabhūti (Puṣyabhūti ?) dynasty. *Ed.*

2. H.C., p. 101.

3. B.R.W.W., i., 183-4.

old times was the reason why Buddhism did not make much head-way in this region. Prabhākara's so called victories did not crush his enemies; for in 604 A.D., shortly before his death he had to send his eldest son, Rājyavardhana, into the north country in order to exterminate the Hūṇas. His younger son, Harṣavardhana, followed his brother after some time with a cavalry force, but lingered sporting in the forests at the foot of the hills; young Harṣa then heard that his father was ill and returned posthaste to the capital to find Prabhākara on his death-bed. Soon after, the father died, Rājyavardhana returned, and ascended the throne (605 A.D.). Then news came that Grahavarma, the Maukhari king of Kanauj, son of Parameśvara Anantavarma, and husband of his sister Rājyaśrī was slain by the ruler of Mālwā Deva Gupta; she was fettered and thrown into prison at Kanauj (Kānyakubja). Thereupon Rājyavardhana proceeded against Mālwā and by him "plying his whip in battle, the king Deva Gupta and others, who resembled wicked horses, were all subdued with averted faces."[1] On his way back Rājyavardhana was lured by Narendra Gupta (Saśāṅka whose dominions had been extended so as to include Gauḍa *i.e.* Central Bengal) and done to death. Thus Rājyavardhana, after uprooting his enemies, was 'allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the King of Gauḍa, and then weaponless, confiding, and alone, despatched in his own quarters."[2] From one of Harṣa's inscriptions we learn that Prabhākara was a '*paramāditya bhaktaḥ*,' 'most devoted worshipper of the sun.' Harṣa's court-poet, Bāṇa, says that Prabhākara Pratāpaśīla " was by natural proclivity a devotee of the sun. Day by day at sunrise he bathed, arrayed himself in white silk, wrapt his head in a white cloth, and kneeling eastwards

1. E.I., i, p. 74.
2. H.C., p. 178.

upon the ground in a circle smeared with saffron paste, presented for an offering a bunch of red lotuses set in a pure vessel of ruby and tinged, like his own heart, with the sun's hue. Solemnly at dawn, at midday, and at eve he muttered a prayer for off-spring, humbly with earnest heart repeating a hymn having the sun as its centre"[1] (the *āditya hṛdayam*). Rājyavardhana was a Saugata, according to Harṣa's own testimony; from this we have to understand that he was a performer of Bauddha *Tāntrika* rites, such as the worship of Tārā, for if he had been a patron of Bauddha monks, Yuan Chwang would have made much of it. That Chinese monk described in glowing terms, Harṣa's patronage of the Bauddha cult, though in the inscription of his 25th year Harṣa calls himself a *parama māheśvaraḥ*, supreme devotee of of Śiva, "who like Maheśvara is compassionate towards all created being,"[2] and the emblem on his seal is Nandi, Śiva's bull.

Harṣavardhana, on the death of his brother in 606 A.D., did not wait to get crowned; though from this date commenced the Harṣa era which was in use for nearly six centuries. He sent his cousin Bhaṇḍi against Mālwā, and himself proceeded to punish the treacherous lord of Gauḍa. Bhaṇḍi conquered Mālwā but found that Rājyaśrī had escaped from prison and fled to the Vindhyan forests. Harṣa sought her there and rescued her just when she was about to commit herself to the flames. According to Yuan Chwang he then assembled "a body of 5,000 elephants, a body of 2,000 cavalry, and 50,000 foot-soldiers. He went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient: the elephants were not unharnessed, nor the soldiers unbelted (*unhelmeted*). After six

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1. *Ibid*, p. 104.
2. E.I., i, pp. 72-73.

years he had subdued the Five Indies,"[1] a statement, which like all others of Yuan Chwang's with regard to Harṣa, or Śīlāditya as the Chinese pilgrim more frequently calls him, must be taken *cum grano salis*. Harṣa got himself crowned in 612 A.D. and shifted his capital to Kanauj, the chief town of the Pañcāla province, the premier one of North India from about 2,000 B.C. He thereby acquired the status of "Lord of the whole Northern country," *i.e.*, the most powerful monarch in Āryāvarta. But as his widowed sister Rājyaśrī was the legitimate sovereign of Kanauj, she was admitted to a partnership in the government and sat by his side when he administered public affairs. He then desired to extend his influence south of the Narmadā and attempted to invade the Deccan, but received a severe check at the hands of the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II. In the words of an inscription of the latter monarch, "Harṣa, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through him (Pulakeśin) had his joy (*harṣa*) melted away with fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle."[2] Of the same event Yuan Chwang says, Harṣa had "gathered troops from the Five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops."[3]

Harṣa died in *c.* 647 A.D.; he has been described as the last great emperor of the pre-Mussalmān times, but as a matter of fact his 'empire' was much less extensive than that of several kings of the next or previous centuries,

1. B.R.W.W., i, 213.
2. E.I., vi, p. 10.
3. B.R.W.W., ii, p. 257.

being confined but to the part of Āryāvarta, wherefrom alone his inscriptions have been obtained. Yuan Chwang describes the innumerable kingdoms into which India was divided in his time and notwithstanding the superlative praise he showers on his patron, he mentions only a few of his neighbouring kings as acknowledging his overlordship. From inscriptions we know that several, even in his lifetime, assumed the supreme title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, indicative of their independent status and others, though pettier kings, ruled without any political relations with him.[1]

The country west of the Indus was ruled by the descendants of the Kuṣāṇa kings who called themselves *Devaputras*, but who were called by others Turki Shāhis. The kingdom was called Kapiśa and its capital was Kābul; Gāndhāra was also under the rule of the Shāhi kings of Kapiśa and was ruled by a viceroy. The country was noted for its fruits, then as now. The Arabs conquered Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Persia within twenty years of the Prophet's death in 632 A.D. Then they began to make efforts to conquer Sind and Hind, *i.e.* India, whose boundaries, then as before, extended to Persia. Their expeditions to the Turki Shāhi kingdom began in the reign of Khalifa Usmān (643-655 A D.). Kābul, the capital, is described by Istahkrī, who wrote about 920 A.D., as having "a castle celebrated for its strength, (and) accessible only by one road." During the *Khilāfat* of Mu' āwiya (661-679 A.D.) Abdu-r-rahmān captured Kābul after a month's siege, but was driven out, the warriors of India helping in the fight. In 698 Kābul was again attacked but the Shāhi, Ranbal, (Ratnapāla ?) who "retiring before his assailants, detached troops to their rear and blocking up the defiles, entirely interrupted

1. For a detailed discussion on the extent of Harṣa's Empire see I.H.Q., iii, pp. 774-792; J. B. O. R. S., xviii, pp. 296-331. *Ed.*

their retreat, and in this situation exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, Abdu-llah was compelled to purchase the liberation of himself and followers for a ransom of seven hundred thousand dirhams."[1] Abdu-r-Rahmān was sent next year to wipe out the disgrace, but the expedition ended by his having to commit suicide. The Kābul ruler got so much celebrity that he became the hero of many Arab stories. The adjoining kingdoms of Lampāka, Nagara, and Gāndhāra were subject to the kings of Kābul.

East of the Indus was the Panjāb under the dominions of the chiefs of Takka (Cheh-ka). Yuan Chwang describes many towns and districts in this part of the country, generally subject to these powerful chiefs. Probably the Hūṇa tribes who had settled in the Panjāb became their subjects.

In Kāśmīr, (early VII Cent.), Durlabha-vardhana founded the Karkoṭaka (a Nāga) dynasty. He extended his authority over Takkasilā, Siṁhapura, Punach, Rājauri and Urasa in the Punjāb. The boundaries of China had just been extended to the Tārim basin and Durlabha entered into political relations with it. Yuan Chwang's statement that Harṣa forcibly carried away from Kāśmīr a 'tooth of the Buddha' does not warrant the usual assumption that the land was subjugated by him. Durlabha-vardhana does not appear to have been very keen on retaining that precious relic. After a long reign, he was succeeded by his son Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya. He reigned for fifty years, beloved by his people for his *bhakti* and justice.

In Nepāl, whose affiliations, then as now, were partly with China and partly with India, ruled a King called

1. E.H.I., ii, 416 (quoting from *Tārikh-i-Alfi*).

Aṁśuvarma. Originally he was a feudatory of the Licchavi King Śivadeva. He reigned for about forty-five years, and died shortly before Yuan Chwang's visit to his country. He wrote a book on Etymology. He was a worshipper of Śiva.

Tibet became an important state in this age. Srong-tsan-Gampo became its king in 639 A.D. He was in friendly relations with Nepāl and China, having married a wife from the royal houses of each of these countries. He founded Lhāssa and popularised Mahāyāna Buddhism. Chinese envoys went to the court of Harṣa (643 A.D.) through Tibet and Nepāl. When Harṣa died, Arjuna, the minister usurped the throne and proceeded to ill-treat Wang-Yuan-tse and the other Chinese emissaries. Wang-Yuan-tse escaped to Tibet and returned with an army and took him as a prisoner to China.[1] Srong-tsan Gambo reigned almost till the end of the century.

In this period Sindh embraced the country between Kandahār and Sīstān on the north; the sea coast and Debal in the South; Kāśmīr and Kanauj on the east; and the province of Makrān on the West. Its capital was Alōr, embellished by palaces, villas, gardens and fountains.

An army of the king of Nimruz, (probably Khusru Parvēz, 590-628) is said to have invaded Sindh and subdued and killed Rāī Siharas II, who on the departure of the Persians was succeeded by his son Rāī Sāhasī II, whose wife was Suhandī (Sugandhī). He spent his days

1. The Chinese version of the war centres round Tirhut—not Kanouj. Arjuna appears to have been a petty governor of Tirhut who asserted independance shortly after the death of his sovereign. He does not appear to have usurped the throne of Kanauj. See H.M.H.I., i, pp. 333-335. *Ed.*

"in the bed chamber of happiness", entrusting the government of the country to his Prime Minister, Rām. Under Sāhasī were four provincial Governors, who resided respectively at Brahmanābād, Sīstān, Iskandah and Multān. The fifth was the home province under the immediate rule of the king. Sāhasī built six mudforts. He "excelled his ancestors in estimable qualities. Having within a short time, settled the affairs within the borders of his kingdom, he enjoyed rest and peace in his capital."[1] He died childless in 632 A.D. Caca, his Brāhmaṇa minister, son of Silāij (Śīladitya ?), became the king. Mahrat, chief of Citōr, a relation of Sāhasī, claimed the throne and marched against him, but Caca slew his opponent. His feudatories rose against him, and he defeated them one after another. He then proceeded against Kāśmīr and fixed his boundaries at the very foot of the hills where the Jhelum debouches from the mountains; there he planted some fir trees. With the help of his brother Candra, he ruled the country vigorously.[2] To him belongs the credit of introducing chess to the Western world. It spread from his kingdom to Persia and thence to the west.[3] He died in 672 A.D. after a reign of forty years and was succeeded by his brother, Candra. The contemporary king of Kanauj, called Siharas in Arabic works, sought out Dāhir, son of Caca, sent an expedition into Sindh and helped Dāhir to gain his father's throne in the year 680 A.D. Thus Kanauj still continued to exercise its function of the premier imperial city. Yuan Chwang visited Sindh during the reign of Caca[4]. It is

1. E.H.I., i, p. 406, quoting from *Tulafatu-l-kiram*.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 131-152 (*Cacnāmā*).

3. *Ib*. pp. 409-410.

4. Other scholars put Yuan Chwang's visit to Sindh in the reign of the Rāi Kings, and adopt a different chronology. See N.M. H. I., i, pp. 18-21, 162; E. H. I. (Smith), p. 369; D. H. N. I., i, p. 5. *Ed*.

said that this Chinese pilgrim reports the king of Sindh in his time to be a Śūdra. This is one of the many inaccuracies of Yuan Chwang or of his interpreters. The Arabs turned their attention to India first in the reign of Khalifa 'Umar (634-643 A.D.) A military expedition set out to pillage the coasts of India and reached as far as Thāna (638 A.D.). 'Abdulla penetrated to Sīstān whose governor sued for peace when he found that "his city was as tent without ropes." 'Abdulla defeated and killed the chief of Makrān. But these events did not lead to any addition of territory. Under Khalif 'Usmān (643-655 A.D.) Hakim was sent to explore Sīstān and Makrān. He reported,............"Water is scarce, the fruits are poor and the robbers are bold. If few troops are sent there they will be slain; if many they will starve". The Ummayīds made Damascus their capital. Under the first Ummayīd Mu'āwiya (661-679 A.D.), 'Abdulla conquered an outlying district of Sindh, the region of the mountain Kaikanan, where "the horses stand very high, and are well-made in all their proportions." Makrān and Sīstān soon fell into Muslim hands, and thus the Indian frontier was pushed a little eastwards.[1]

The Valabhī King[2] in the beginning of the VII century was Śīlāditya I *alias* Dharmāditya. His inscriptions describe him as a scholar. Among his other grants, that of 605 A.D records the gift of a village to 44 Brāhmaṇas who had imgrated from Saṅgapurī.[3] His younger brother Kharagraha I and after him Dharasēna III the son of the latter, ruled. Dharasena III was succeeded by his brother Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya, (620 A.D.) who was a pious

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1. E.H.I, i, pp. 414-426.
2. E.I., xi, p. 175.
3. Valabhī may be identified with Surāṣṭra or modern Kāṭhiawāḍ while Bharoch (Broach) with modern Gujarāt. *Ed.*

monarch "well acquainted with sacredad learning" and "thoroughly well-versed even in both the science (*tantra*) of government and of Śālāturīya (Paṇini's grammar). In 640 A.D. Dhruvasena II Bālāditya, who was a *Paramamāheśvara* gave to two Brāhmaṇa scholars, certain pieces of land in Mālwā. This shows that at this period Mālwā was dismembered and passed under the rule of various kings of the surrounding districts. The name 'the Seven Mālwās' used in later inscriptions confirms this.[1] He fought with Harṣa and, when defeated, fled to Dadda II of Broach for protection. Subsequently peace was made and Dhruvasena married Harṣa's daughter. His son, Dharasena IV, before 645 A.D., even when Harṣa was alive, assumed the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Parameśvara* and *Cakravarti*. These titles were borne continuously by the Valabhī rulers upto 766 A.D.

At Broach the dynasty of Gurjara Rājpūts founded by Dadda I continued. The rulers called themselves *Sāmantas*, because their territories were not large, but they were independent rulers. They used the Traikūṭaka (Kalacuri) era, The name Gujarāt gradually supplanted the ancient name of Ānarta on account of their rule. They were worshippers of the Sun. Jayabhaṭa I succeded Dadda I early in the VII century. He was succeeded by Dadda II Praśāntarāga who defied Harṣa "by protecting the lord of Valabhī (Dhruvasena II Bālāditya) who had been defeated by the great lord, Śrī Harṣadeva."[2] Two of his charters were issued from Kairā (Kairā Dist.) in 629 and 634 A.D. and one of his brother Raṇagraha from Sāṅkhedā (in the Barodā state), all dated in the Kalacuri era. Dadda II was succeded by Jayabhaṭa II (655 A.D.) and he by Dadda III (680 A.D.)

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1. E., I., viii, p. 189.
2. I.A., xiii, pp. 79.

Another Gurjara kingdom was that of *Bhinmāl* in Rājaputānā. Vyāghramukha of this line was the patron of Brahmagupta who composed his *Brahma Siddhānta* in 628 A.D. Vyaghramukha's son was reigning in 641 A.D. when Yuan Chwang visited the province; he says that the king was a Kṣatriya and a young man famous for wisdom and courage. This kingdom was only nominally subject to Harṣa. They were sun-worshippers. In the next century they became emperors of Kanauj.

Śaśāṅka Narendragupta, king of Karṇasuvarṇa, was a very powerful rival of Harṣa. Though Harṣa defeated him, his power was not at all lessened for in 619 A.D. *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta* Mādhava Rāja of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Koṅgodha, dates a grant "while *Mahārājādhirāja* the glorious Śaśāṅka was ruling over the earth".[1]

The *Life of Yuan Chwang* (not of course an original authority), says that Harṣa returned from an expedition to this province a little-before Yuan Chwang met him. Koṅgodha has been wrongly identified by Cunningham with Ganjām, in direct contradiction of the facts that Ganjām is in (South) Kaliṅga, which again according to Yuan Chwang, was south-west of Koṅgodha, separated from Kaliṅga by a "vast forest".[2] V. A. Smith following Cunningham's identification says that Harṣa's "last recorded (*sic*) campaign, an attack on the sturdy inhabitants of Ganjām, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, took place in A.D. 643".[3]

According to Yuan Chwang Śaśāṅka cut down the Bōdhi tree (at Gayā) digging it up to the very springs of the earth; but yet he did not get to the bottom of the

1. E.I., vi, p. 146.
2. B.R.W.W., ii, p. 207.
3. E.H.I., p. 353.

roots. Then he burnt it with fire and sprinkled it with the juice of the sugar-cane, desiring to destroy it some months afterwards; the king of Magadha called Pūrṇavarma " hearing of it sighed and.........with the milk of a thousand cows bathed the roots of the tree, and in a night it once more revived and grew to the height of some 10 feet.........He surrounded it with a wall of stone 24 feet high."[1] Śaśāṅka's attempt to destroy the Bōdhi-tree, though misrepresented by the pious Yuan Chwang as an anti-Buddhist act, was merely directed to ruin the income which Pūrṇavarmā of Magadha derived from it.[2]

Ādityasena, of the line of the Magadha Guptas dominated North India after Harṣa's death. He was a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*.[3]

In Kāmarūpa (Prāgjyotiṣa) Bhāskaravarma, second son of Susthithavarma, ascended the throne early in the century; when Harṣa marched east to avenge his brother's murder, Bhāskara offered his alliance, being jealous of the rising power of his neighbour, Śaśāṅka. After the latter's death, Bhāskara annexed Karṇasuvarṇa, "owing to the possession of splendid ships, elephants, horses and foot-soldiers."[4] After the death of Harṣa, Bhāskara became one of the leading kings of Northern India and helped the Chinese to defeat Arjuna. On his death, the Varma dynasty of Assām which had lasted for three and a half centuries was overthrown by Śālastambha.

In Bengāl, towards the end of the century ruled Ādiśūra who invited from Kanauj, the home of Brāhmaṇas

1. B.R.W.W., ii, p. 118.
2. A.S.I., 1908-9, p. 141.
3. G.I., p. 212.
4. E.I., xii, p. 76.

of pure blood, five learned Brāhmaṇas and five Kāyastha families and settled them in Gauḍa (Bengāl). According to tradition, this was for reviving Brāhmaṇa customs which had decayed in the province; but there is ample inscriptional evidence to prove that there was a continuous line of great Brāhmaṇa scholars in that province.[1]

The Eastern Gaṅgas continued to rule from Kaliṅganagara. These kings were Śaivas and pious devotees of the Gokarṇeśvarasvamī of Mahendragiri in the Ganjām district and frequently gave donations to Brāhmaṇas on occasions of eclipses. Plates of years 254, 304, 308, 342, and 397 of their era have been found, i.e., they continued to rule up to the middle of the VIII century. Yuan Chwang visited the Kaliṅga country when the Eastern Gaṅgas were ruling there.

At Bādāmī, Maṅgalīśa tried to exclude from succession to his throne Pulakeśin II, son of his elder brother Kīrtivarman and secure it for his own son. This resulted in a struggle in which Maṅgalīśa died (*c.* 608 A.D.) Taking advantage of the struggle, the feudatories of Pulakeśin's father and uncle revolted and "the world was encompassed by the darkness of the enemies" of the new king. He met them in battle one after another; he defeated Appāyika; Govinda (probably of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family which was destined to supplant the power of the Cāḷukyas in the next century) submitted to him. He then defeated the (Western) Gaṅga and Alūpa lords, as well as the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ. He captured with the help of his ships Purī on the west coast. The Lāṭas, the Mālavas and the Gūrjaras acknowledged his sway. This roused the jealousy of Harṣa, and he tried to invade the Cāḷukya territory, but could not cross the Narmadā in the face of the

1. E.I., xiii, p. 286-288.

powerful elephant-brigade of Pulakeśin, who thereupon assumed the title of *Parameśvara*, the supreme Lord. Pulakeśin II thus became the king of the three Mahārāṣṭrakas, with their ninety-nine thousand villages. He then started on a *digvijaya*, the ' conquest of the (four) quarters.' He marched right across India south of the Vindhyas, and subdued the (Dakṣiṇa) Kosalas and the Kaliṅgas. The Viṣṇukuṇḍi power had, a little before this, disappeared. He then marched south, captured Piṣṭapura (Piṭhāpura in the Godāvarī district), and acquired the region round the Kunāḷa (Kollēru in the Kṛṣṇā district). This brought him into contact with Mahendravarma,[1] son of Simhaviṣṇu, lord of Kāñcī, whose power " was obscured by the dust of his (Pulakeśin's) army and (who) had to vanish behind the walls of Kāñcīpura."[2] But Mahendravikramavarma's retreat was only a tactical move, for a Pallava inscription tells us that Mahendravarma defeated his 'chief enemies' (*dviṣatān viśeṣān*), at Puḷḷalūr, a village not far from Kāñcī ;[3] the "chief enemy" was Pulakeśin II, whose son Vikramāditya I called the Pallava his "natural enemy" (*prākṛtyāmitra*).[4] So the composer of Pulakēśin's *praśasti* discreetly says that after the Pallava king retired within the walls of Kāñcī, "straightway he (Pulakeśin) strove to conquer the Cōḷas, the Kāvērī, who has the darting carps for her tremulous eyes, had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants whose rutting juice was dripping down, and avoided the contact with the ocean. There he caused great prosperity to the Cōḷas, Keraḷas and Pāṇḍiyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost—the army of the Pallavas." The inscription from which these extracts

1. Also known as Mahendravikramavarmā. *Ed.*
2. E.I., vi, p. 11.
3. S.I.I., ii, p. 349.
4. S.I.I., i, p. 146.

are taken records the Śaka date 556 and the Kali date 3735, the earliest use of the Kali era in South India[1].

Pulakeśin II like his predecessors called himself a *Mahārāja*, the word not yet having degenerated in meaning as it had elsewhere. He is chiefly known by his title of *Satyāśraya*, his other titles were *Vallabha* and *Pṛthvīvallabha*. He was a Śaiva (*Paramamāheśvara*). The reputation and influence of Pulakeśin II was by no means confined to India. There is an Arabic chronicle which records the fact that, in the 36th year of the reign of Khusrū II of Persia, letters and presents were exchanged between him and Pulakeśin; and, in one of the caves at Ajantā, there is a painting, depicting the presentation of envoys from a Persian king to an Indian king, which is supposed to commemorate the fact.[2] The 36th year of Khusrū II was A.D. 625-26, and the communication between him and Pulakeśin II, therefore, took place, when the latter had been about 16 years on the throne.

The earliest feudatory of Pulakeśin II was *Satyāśraya* Dhruvarāja Indravarma, governor of Rēvatīdvīpa and other districts, who had begun his governorship under Kīrtivarman I in 590 A.D. His maternal uncle of the Sēndraka family Śrīvallabha Senānanda was another feudatory, ruling over Ratnagiri Dt. More important than these was his younger brother Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. He was *Yuvarāja* and ruler of Sātārā Dt. After Pulakeśin's conquest of the east coast, Viṣṇuvardhana was appointed ruler of the district below the Godāvarī. He resided sometimes at Vengi and at other times at Piṣṭapura. Another feudatory family was a minor branch of the Cāḷukya house which was placed in charge of Lāṭa, between the Koṅkaṇ

1. E.I., vi, pp. 11-12.
2. J.R.A.S., April, 1879; and A. S. W. I., 1897, pp. 90-2.

and Gujarāt proper. The names of Jayasimharāja, Buddhavarma and Vijayarāja are known.

About the year 642 A.D., Narasiṁhavarma of Kāñcī, son of Mahendravarma, in retaliation for Pulakēśin's invasion of his father's dominions nearly thirty years before, invaded the Cāḷukya territory, defeated and slew Pulakeśin; in his own words "wrote the syllables of the words *vijaya* (victory) on the plate (that was) Pulikēśī's back, which was caused to be visible (when Pulikēśī turned and fled) at the battles of Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala, Śūramāra, etc." and "destroyed the city of Vātāpi (Bādāmī) just as the pitcher-born (Agastya destroyed his enemy) Vātāpi."[1] Bādāmī was in the possession of the Pallavas for some years. As an immediate result of this disaster the feudatories of Pulakeśin II became independent *rājas*.

Vikramāditya I, the successor of Pulakeśin II took the tittles of *Raṇarasika*, 'fond of fighting', *Rājamalla*, because 'he had caused the destruction of the Mahāmalla (Narasiṁhavarma's) family.' In revenge for the treatment his father and his capital city had received at the hands of the Pallavas, he invaded their territory, "trampled upon the fame of Narasiṁha (who was long since dead) effected the destruction of the reputation of (his successor) Mahendra, and conquered (Parama) Iśvara, (the next Pallava King) by (his mere) look." He captured Kāñcī, and in the facetious words of the poet who composed the inscription, "delighting much in Kāñcikā, the wanton girdle of the woman who is the country of the South, he bears preeminently the condition of being the favourite of the goddess of fortune[2] (*Śrīvallabha*)." The same incident is also described as seizing "like the girdle of the

1. S.I.I., i, p. 148.
2. I.A., vi, p. 77, ll. 20-23 of insc.

Southern region, (the city of) Kāñcī, whose large rampart was insurmountable and hard to be breached, (and) which was surrounded by a great moat, unfathomable and hard to be crossed".[1] The Pallava King, Parameśvara, retreated with his army to his minor capital of Pallavápuram, now a petty hamlet near the village of Peruvaḷanallūr, about 10 miles north of Trichinopoly, where the foundations of a Pallava palace are still visible. Vikramāditya pushed on into the Cōḷika *viṣaya*, 'the Cōḷa country' and encamped at Urgapuram (Urāiyūr) on the Southern banks of the Kāvērī, in 674 A.D. Then issued Parameśvara, from his fortress mentioned above and riding his horse Atiśaya, fought the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr, in which it is claimed that the Pallava monarch, "unaided, made Vikramāditya, whose army consisted of several *lakṣas*, take to flight, covered only by a rag."[2]

The details of the Pallava—Cāḷukya compaign are not clearly known from any records, but it is certain that success did not uniformly attend on either of the invaders. Vikramāditya had to fight for 13 years and "conquer in many battles on the back of his excellent horse Citrakanṭha and with the edge of his sword acquire the fortune of his father which had been interrupted by three kings."[3] Probably he had also to fight with rivals before he got the throne, for in a grant of Ādityavarma, another son of Pulakeśin II, he calls himself *Pṛthvīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* and he may have reigned before Vikramāditya, in the dozen years of confusion which preceded the latter's coronation in 655 A.D.[4]

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1. E.I., x, p. 105.
2. S.I.I., i, p. 148-9; *Ibid*, ii, p. 371.
3. J.B.B.R.A.S., xvi, p. 236.
4. J.B.B.R.A.S., xvi, p. 234.

The extent of the power of Vikramāditya, at its greatest, may be judged from the fact that the places from which he issued his grants ranged from Uragapuram (Urāiyūr in the Trichinopoly Dt.) to Nausārī in the Barodā state. His chief feudatories were *Rājā* Devaśakti of the Sēndraka family, his elder brother Candrāditya *Mahārāja*, (which title had by this time become degraded in the Cāḷukya dominions) Pṛthvīvallabha, and a younger brother of Vikramādītya, Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarma, "whose power had been increased by his elder brother" and who was made ruler of Lāṭa (Southern Gujarāt). His son, *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śīlāditya issued two grants, dating them in the Kalacuri-era 421 and 443, *i.e.*, 670 A.D. and 692 A.D. Hence the Kalacuri era was used in Lāṭa even after their sovereignty ended there.[1]

After Vikramāditya I, his son Vinayāditya ascended the throne in 680 A.D. He had accompanied his father in his Southern expedition and been placed in command at Kāñcī when Vikramāditya proceeded into the Cōḷa *viṣaya*, and he "at the command of his father kept in check the power of the Pallavas who were the lords of three territories."[2] Though his father returned, defeated by the Pallava king Parameśvaravarma, in Vinayāditya's records he is said to have defeated the Pallavas, Kaḷabhras, Keraḷas, Haihayas, Cōḷas, Pāṇḍiyas and others. This is the usual courtly but meaningless compliment of the writers of grants.

In the East coast districts of the Madras Presidency Viṣṇuvardhana I became an independent ruler before 632 A.D. and ruled with Vengi, near modern Ellore, as well as Piṣṭapura as capitals. He thus founded the

1. E. I., viii, p. 231.
2. I.A., vi, p. 86.

Eastern Cāḷukya dynastry, which held that country for four centuries and more. He was surnamed Viṣamasiddhi. His family preserved the traditional story of the origin of Cāḷukya power in South India as narrated in Chap. XIII. The Eastern Cāḷukya kings, like the Pallavas, got their priests to invent in the XI century a line of descent from Purūravas, the founder of the Lunar race. Apparently the region retained the name Āndhra, as Yuan Chwang describes it under that name. He also describes Dhanakaṭaka which was also in the Eastern Cāḷukya territory. He says it contained a hundred Deva temples, though it was such a great centre of Buddhism.

Viṣamasiddhi Viṣṇuvardhana's son was Jayasiṁha I *alias* Siṁhavikrama Vallabha who ruled from 633-663 A.D. He was succeeded by his brother Indrabhaṭṭāraka who reigned for a few days, being succeeded by his son Viṣṇuvardhana II, *Makaradhvaja*, (663-672 A.D.). The next king was the latter's son *Mahārāja* Sarvalokāśraya, also called Maṅgiyuvarāja (672-696 A.D.). He is described as one "who has obtained the accomplishment of victory (*vijayasiddhi*) by crushing the daring (of enemies) in many battles."[1] Jayasiṁha II succeeded him in 696 A.D.[2]

Culiye (Cōḷa), as Yuan Chwang calls it, lay between the Western Gaṅga territory and the east coast districts. It was the only bit of Coḷa *viṣaya* which had its own kings, the rest having become part of the Pallava dominions. It was ruled over by the Telugu Cōḍas descended from Karikāl, and was called Rēnāḍu. Its kings were more or less feudatories of the Pallavas as the names of its kings *e.g.* Siṁhaviṣṇu and Mahendravikramavarma show. The

1. E.I., viii, p. 237.

2. These dates are obviously based upon those proposed by Dr. Fleet. See I.A., xx, pp. 12 and 283. For another system of chronology as given by Hultzsch, see S.I.I., i, p. 32.

latter's son was Pōrumukharāma who gave a village of 50 *nivartanas* to a Brāhmaṇa and made other donations.[1]

His name is a compound of a Telugu word and two Sanskrit ones and means 'one who delights (in standing) on the battle-front'; under these Télugu Cōḍa kings, the Telugu language was slowly refined into a literary language and provided with an alphabet.

The Pallavas from early times strove to develop the country. They cleared forests and established villages on the sites. Hence they earned the names of *Kāḍuveṭṭi*, 'cutter of forests,' *Kāḍavar*, 'foresters', *Kāṭṭiṟai*, 'lord of the forest'. The Pallava King at Kāñcī in 600 A. D. was Mahendravikramavarma, son of Siṁhaviṣṇu, of the Pallava dynasty. He lost the Telugu districts of the East coast when Pulakeśin II performed his *digvijaya* as already narrated but strengthened his power over the valley of the Kāvērī which he inherited from his father, Siṁhāviṣṇu. His activities were more cultural then political and will be referred to later on. His son Narasiṁhavarma's victory over Pulakeśin II and destruction of Bādāmī have been referred to already. A Pallava inscription says that he took from his enemies the pillar of victory (*jayastambha*), standing in the middle of the city of Vātāpi.[2] In Tamil literature also this event is described.[3] Other Pallava inscriptions say that he surpassed the glory of the valour of Rāma by his conquest of Laṅkā.[4] The "conquest" eulogized here is but the fitting out twice of a fleet to help Mānavamma, an exiled prince of Çeylon to gain the sovereignty of the island; on the second

1. E.I., xi, pp. 337-346.
2. S.I.I., ii, p. 508, v. 11.
3. P.P., Life of Paranjōti, v. 6.
4. S.I.I., ii, p. 349, v.22.

occasion Mānavamma succeeded in gaining the throne. A large part of the Tamil country, right upto the limits of the Pāṇḍiya territory was under the rule of these sovereigns. In inscriptions Siṁhaviṣṇu and others are said to have defeated the Cōḷas, Ceras, Pāṇḍiyas, Kaḷabhras, the Siṁhalas, *etc.*, but this is the usual meaningless boast like which there are plenty in epigraphs. For the Pāṇḍiya and Cēra countries as well as Ceylon never came under the sway of the Pallavas. Mahendravikrama and his son, Narasiṁha, adopted on an extensive scale the Gupta practice of assuming grand titles. Mahendra adopted titles in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu, like *Guṇabhara*, *Lalitāṅkura*, *Śatrumalla*, *Mayendirappottaraiyan*, *Cittirakārappuli* ('tiger among artists'), *Pagāppidugu* ('thunderbolt that was never shattered'), *Nilviloniyambu* ('one who shoots arrows from a bow planted on the ground'), *etc.* The titles assumed by Narasiṁha are to be counted in hundreds: a few specimens are *Māmalla*, *Ameyamāya*, *Raṇajaya*, *Atyantakāma*. By this time the Pallava monarchs had become thoroughly Tamilized. Narasiṁhavarma was succeeded by his son Mahendravarma II (*c.* 655 A. D.) who seems to have reigned for a very short period. In the reign of his son and successor, Parameśvaravarma I, Vikramāditya I, invaded the Pallava country. Parameśvara fled from Kāñcī to the fort, of which the foundations are still visible, of Pallavaram, a few miles north of the Koleroon, South of Śrīraṅgam, Trichinopoly. He bided his time till Vikramāditya's progress was checked and fell upon his army in 675 A.D. and defeated him in the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr, two miles off his fort of Pallavaram. The battle of Peruvaḷanallūr is described in Parameśvara's copper-plate grant of Kūram which contains a Sanskrit poem in a gorgeous style full of strange conceits, which became the chief characteristic of the latest development of the artificial *Kāvya* style.

From this inscription we learn that the Pallava kings of this period, aspired to be provided with genealogies coming down from Brahmā, the Ṛṣis, and the Purāṇic heroes, and obliging Brāhmaṇas invented such genealogies. Thus Pallava, 'the eponymous ancestor of the dynasty' was traced through Aśvatthāma and Drōṇa to a line of Ṛṣis ending with Aṅgiras who was the son of Brahmā. In later times, famous historic kings like Aśòka were also thrust into the genealogical list, and the Pallavas were made the members of the 'Brahma-Kṣatriya' caste.[1]

Paramesvara was succeeded *c.* 680 A.D. by Rājasiṁha. He was a peaceful monarch and devoted all his time to the worship of Śiva, the patronage of Śaiva devotees, and assumption of titles indicating his devotion to Śiva. About the end of the century Parameśvaravarma II succeeded him. He was also a pious king. He died in a few years, leaving no legitimate issue and with him the dynasty of Simhaviṣnu came to an end.

The Bāṇa rulers were ruling over Āndhrapatha. Koṅgaṇi Varmā of Mysore was "anointed to conquer the Bāṇamaṇḍala". This shows that the feuds between the Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas continued in this period.

The Western Gaṅga King when the century began was Durvinīta Koṅgaṇi, son of Avanīta. He "made the faces of Death and Fire confused by the remnants of oblations of animals in the shape of heroic persons who were slain and sacrificed in the offerings which were the openings of numerous battles at Andari, Ālattur, Porulare Peḷuagara *etc.* (with the Adigan Chieftains)." He was succeeded by his son, Muṣkara Koṅgaṇi *Vṛddharāja*. His successor was Śrīvikrama Koṅgaṇi *Mahādhirāja*

1. S.I.I., ii, p. 355.

whose mother was the daughter of Sindhurāja. He mastered the 14 branches of learning (4 *Vēdas*, 6 *Vēdāṅgas* and 4 *Śāstras*).[1] The Cāḷukyas throughout the century were overlords of the Gaṅgas. Vinayāditya speaks of them as the "hereditary servants" of the Cāḷukya kings.[2]

The Cōḷas continued to rule at Uṟaiyūr, but as the feudatories of the Pallavas. To this period pertains the legend of a Cōḷa princess being married to Raṅganātha, the God of Śrīraṅgam. A temple was built in her honour at Uṟaiyūr, which is still a living temple.

In the Madurā country as has been narrated already just before the close of VI century, a Pāṇḍiya king called Kaḍuṅgōn Pāṇḍiyādirājan "rose like the sun from the sea (behind which he) set............and removed the right of others to the earth-goddess," *i.e.*, rescued the country from the sovereignty of Kaḷabhras and others. His son was Māṟavarman Avaniśūḷāmaṇi (*c.* 605-625 A.D.) From now the Pāṇḍiya kings assumed the titles *Māṟan* (*Māṟavarman*) and *Śaḍaiyan* (*Jaṭilavarman*) alternately; they were called alternately *Saḍaiyanmāṟan* (*i.e. Māṟan* son of *Śaḍaiyan*) and *Māṟañjaḍaiyan* (*i.e. Śaḍaiyan* son of *Māṟan*). Probably Avaniśūlāmaṇi extended and consolidated the rule acquired by his father. His son Śēndan (Jayantan) subjugated the Cēras and added to his titles that of *Vānavan*, the title of Cēra kings. He may have ruled from *c.* 625 to 645 A.D. His son

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1. E.I., xii, p. 54.

But the author of G. T. assigns the latter half of the VI century A.D. to Durvinīta, and says "As Bhuvikrama came to the throne in 608 A.D. the rules of Durvinīta's successors Mushkara and Srivikrama was short." See G. T., p. 16-17, where Bhuvikrama and his younger brother Śivamāra are said to be successively on the throne during the VII century A.D. *Ed.*

2. I.A., vii, p. 303.

Arikēsari Parānkusa Māṛavarman reigned from c. 645 A.D., to 690 A.D.[1] In his reign started the duel with the Pallavas of Kāñcī, which lasted for exactly two centuries and ended with the destruction of the power of both houses. Several of his battles with the Pallavas, the Kēraḷas, and petty Tamil chiefs are mentioned. He was a patron of Jaina monks, but ultimately became a devotee of Śiva. In the *Śaiva Purāṇas* he is called *Kūn Pāndiyan* and also *Ninṛaśir Neḍuāmṛan*. He and his wife, a Cōḷa princess, called Maṅgaiyarkkaraśi were reckoned by later generations as Śaiva saints. He was succeeded by Raṇadhīran Śaḍaiyan.

Of the Cēras of this period we possess no definite information except that they were constantly in conflict with the Pāṇḍiyas and often defeated by them in battles and lost parts of their territories. But they were ruling over the Cēra country continuously. Their main capital was still Karūr in the Trichinopoly District not far from the junction of the Amarāvatī and the Kāveri and their subsidiary capital, Cranganore on the Malabār Coast.

ii. Eighth Century

The reputation of Ranbal kept **Kābul**, the first kingdom of Hind, free from Muhammadan attacks for a very long time. One of the Kābul kings was even venturesome enough to subjugate eastern Persia and advance to the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates (c. 720 A.D.)[2] The (Turki Shāhi) kings of Kābul thus formed an effective barrier to the invasion of India *via* the Kābul valley for three more centuries.

1. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has adopted somewhat different system of Chronology. According to him, Arikesari Parānkuśa ruled from c. 670 to 710 A.D. See P. K., p, 51. *Ed.*

2. E.H.I., ii, p. 418 (quoting Mas'udi).

With Sindh the case was different. During the Khilāfat of Walid (705–715 A.D.) his lieutenant Hajjaj sent Muhammad bin Qāsim against Sindh, because a fleet containing presents from Ceylon intended for Walid and Hajjaj were captured by pirates near Dēbal. He reached the port in 711. He was joined by the Jāts and Meds, who had been severely treated by Dāhir, when he quelled the disturbances which had taken place earlier in his reign. Muhammad possessed, besides a large camel corps, cavalry and infantry, five catapults, each requiring 500 men to work it. He took Dēbal and Nīrūn (near the present Hyderābād) and treated the people leniently. Dāhir met him at Rāwar but was killed in the battle. Muḥammad appointed a governor at Alōr and then captured Multān. Soon after Muḥammad Qāsim's death practically the whole of Sindh revolted and Jaisiah (Jayasimha) son of Dāhir, regained Brahmanābād. A punitive expedition was sent against him from Irāq. Rebellions and punitive expeditions became frequent as time went on. Sindh remained under the Khalīfas in this century and three-quarters of the next.

The Muhammadan governors extended their rule to portions of Sindh which had resisted the first invaders. Thus under the Khalīfa Mansūr (754-775 A.D.) Multān was completely brought under subjection. In 773 A.D. Mansura was established as the first capital of Sindh under Khalīfa Hārūn Al Rashīd (786-809 A.D.). The Muhammadan dominion in Sindh was further extended and Sindh was vigorously governed. "This Khalīfa despatched, by the Arabian sea, an envoy, accompanied with numerous presents, to some king in India, representing that he was sore afflicted with a cruel malady, and requesting, as he was on the point of travelling on a distant journey into Khurāsān, that the famous Indian physian Kanka or Maṇikba, might be sent to attend on him on

his tour to that province; promising, on the honour of a prince, that he should be permitted to return to his country immediately on the Khalīfa's arrival at Balkh. The physician, who was sent in compliance with this request, was so successful in his treatment, that his imperial patient was in a short time sufficiently recovered to proceed to his destination.........In due time, the Indian physician, according to promise, was allowed to proceed to Balkh, whence he returned in safety to his native country; which, if not Sindh itself, was probably at no great distance from it.'[1]

The rulers of Valabhī were Śīlāditya, the fifth-sixth and seventh of the name. Śīlāditya VI was constantly at feud with the Gurjaras of Bharukaccha. He annexed a part of their territory. Jayabhaṭa III claims to have defeated him. Between 760 A.D and 765 A.D., Śīlāditya VII succeeded him. He was also called Dhrūbhaṭa or Dhruvabhaṭa. In about 775 A.D. one Raṇka, afraid that his wealth would be seized by the king, fled to the lord of Al Mansura (in Sindh), made his presents of money, and asked him to help him with a naval force. The lord of Al Mansura complied with his desire, and assisted him. So he made a night attack upon the king Vallabha and killed him and his people, and destroyed the town"[2]. So perished one of the earliest Rājpūt dynasties.

After the fall of Valabhīnagar, a new dynasty, that of the Cāvaḍās arose in Anhilvād-Paṭṭan. The family was founded by Vanrāj, reputed to be a sun-worshipper. The last king of the line was succeeded by his sister's son, Mūla Rāja I, of the Solanki (Cāḷukya) house. (961 A.D.)[3]

1. E.H.I., i, pp. 446-7.
2. A.I., i, p. 193.
3. For more details regarding the Cāvaḍās, see H.M.H.I., II, ch. v. *Ed.*

The Gurjaras continued to rule in Gujarāt in the beginning of the century. Jayabhaṭa III son of Bahusahāya Dadda III, issued charters in 706 and 736 A.D. Śīlāditya VI of Valabhī seems to have acquired the part of the Gurjara territory adjoining that of the Valabhīs. Jayabhaṭa claims to have "quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī"[1] The power of the Gurjaras came to an end soon after. The Tājikas or Arabs from Sindh destroyed them. Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin, a Western Cāḷukya prince defeated the Arabs and annexed the Gurjara country as well as the Lāṭa country to the south of it.

The Parsees came by ship from the island of Hormuz to India and settled at Dib (Diu) on the coast in the South of Kāṭhiāwāḍ in 747 A.D. In 766 they sailed to Gujarāt and reached Sanjan. They were welcomed by the local ruler Jādīrāna, who permitted them to settle in the country.[2]

The other Gurjara house, that of the Pratihāras of Bhīnmal (Śrīmūla) increased in power. The first great king of the dynasty was Nāgāvalōka (Nāgabhaṭa I). He "bore the emblem of the Pratihāra" and defeated the *Valaca-mlecchas*; by this term are referred to the Arabs, who having conquered Sindh kept on making inroads into the Rājpūt territories. After Nāgāvalōka had stopped the rush of the Musulmāns into Rājputānā, his rule, became a *pravarttamāna vijaya rājya* (reign of increasing victory). In 756 A.D., his feudatory, Bhartṛivaḍḍha II, the Cāhamāna, mentions him as his suzerain.[3] Nāgāvalōka's nephews Kakkuka (Kākustha) and Dēvarāja

1. I.A., v, pp. 114-5.
2. E.I., xii, p. 258 (quoting a Persian poem called *Kissah-i-Sanjān*, 600 A.D.)
3. A.S.I., 1903-4. p. 284.
4. E.I., xii, p. 200-203.

(Dēvaśakti) reigned after him till *c.* 783. A. D., when Vatsarāja, the son of the latter, "seized by main force the imperial sway from the famous line of Bhandi," *i.e.*, defeated Indrāyudha of Kanauj and destroyed his prestige. He also attacked Gōpāla of Bengal and wrested from him two royal umbrellas; but Dhruva, the Raṣṭrakūta, in turn captured the two trophies and "confined Vatsa to his own territory."

Guhilots of Mēwād. Bappā Rāwal was the founder of the greatness of this reputed family of the Rājpūts. He was born in the forest to which his widowed-mother had fled for refuge when her husband's kingdom in a far away corner of Kāṭhiāwāḍ was sacked and he died in the battle-field. The child grew to manhood among the wild Bhils and he became their chieftain, and carved out for himself a kingdom around the impregnable rock of Citōr in the VIII century A.D. He stayed the progress of the Muhammadans about 730 A.D. and performed deeds of heroism which are even now the subject of ballads. He became the *Mahārāja* of Citōrgaḍh[1] and thus founded the illustrious Rājpūt house of Mēdapāṭa (Mēwāḍ), still reigning at Udaipur after twelve centuries of its establishment, and esteemed as Rājpūts of the bluest blood. Bappā resigned his throne to become a (Śaiva) Sanyāsī in 783 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Guhila, who also fought frequently with the Arabs who had settled in Sindh.

"The house of Bhaṇḍi" ruled over Kanauj, still regarded as the premier city of India. Yaśovarma was the king of that province in the beginning of the VIII century. His most famous exploit, the defeat of a Gauḍa

1. According to tradition, Bappā and his Bhils took service with the Mori king of Citōr and won fame in repelling Arab invasions. Then the *Sardārs* of Citōr deposed their decrepit king, and placed the crown on Bappā's head. *Ed.*

prince, has been sung in a Prākrit poem by his court poet Vākpatirāja, in his *Gaudavaho*. He is also famous as the patron of the great Sanskrit dramatist, Bhavabhūti. He is said to have sent an embassy to China in 731 A.D. Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kāśmīr defeated him. His successor was Vajrāyudha, who was defeated by Jayāpīḍa of Kāśmīr. Indrāyudha, the next king of Kanauj was defeated (*c.* 783 A.D.) by Vatsarāja, the Pratihāra, but "the house of Bhaṇḍi" still continued to rule at Kanauj.

In Kāśmīr, Durlabhaka was succeeded after fifty years of rule by his son Candrāpīḍa. He was a poet. In 713 A.D. he applied to the Chinese emperor for aid against the Arabs and received recognition as king by the Emperor of China in 720 A.D. He was killed by his brother Tārāpīḍa after he had reigned nearly 9 years. Tārāpīḍa was slain after 4 years. In 725 A.D. Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the third son of Durlabha succeeded him. "The king, eager for conquests, passed his life chiefly on expeditions, moving round the earth like the sun." The *Rājatarangiṇī* says that he defeated Yaśovarma, king of Kanauj (Gādhipura). He then went to Kaliṅga and then turned South. The Karṇāṭas "who wear their hair-braids high bent down before him." He then entered Dvārakā and Avanti. He then vanquished the Tibetans, Bhūtiyas and Turks (Turaṣkas). He built numerous temples to Viṣṇu, but is most famous for building the Mārtāṇḍa temple to the Sun, which is still standing. He did not return from his last expedition "towards the boundless regions of the earth," which "have not been seen even by the rays of the sun." There was much confusion and civil war in the kingdom after this. Towards the end of the century ruled Jayāpīḍa, who was also a great warrior, like his

grandfather, Lalitāditya. Romantic tales of his adventures all over North India are told by Kalhaṇa.

Nepāl was ruled by Śivadeva who gave grants of land to a Śiva temple in 725 A.D. and a Buddhist *vihāra* in 749 A.D. This Śivadeva married a granddaughter of Ādityasena of Magadha. He was succeeded by Jayadeva. The Licchavi dynasty ended about the end of the century. Nepāl became independent of Tibet in 703 A.D.

In Tibet under Thi-Srong-de-tsan(743-789 A.D.), "the development of Buddhism was much encouraged. The Indian sages, Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava, were invited to court, and with their aid a system of clerical government was instituted which survives to this day as Lamaism."[1]

Magadha and Gauḍa were ruled in the beginning of the VIII century by Jīvitagupta II, great grandson of Ādityasena. He was like his three predecessors a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.[2] His successor was perhaps the Gauḍa king defeated by Yaśōvarma of Kanauj. Then anarchy prevailed. So "the people to put an end to the *mātsya nyāya* (anarchy), made Śrī Gōpāla take the hand of Fortune. (He thus became) the crest jewel of the heads of kings and his everlasting fame the glorious mass of moonlight on a full-moon night seeks to rival by its whiteness in the sky."[3] (c. 740 A.D.) He is said to have reigned 45 years. He was a *Paramasaugata*. Gōpāla was succeeded by his son Dharmapāla *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*. His too was a long reign, extending into the next century.

1. E.H.I., p. 378.
2. G.I., p. 215.
3. E.I., iv, p. 248. For details, see P. B. *Ed.*

In Kāmarūp, after the death of Bhāskaravarma, the Śālastambha or Stambha family of kings succeeded to its rule. The greatest king of this line was Śrī Harṣadeva (*c.* 725 A.D.), daughter's son of Ādityasena of Magadha. Later in the century a line of Nāga kings became rulers of the country.

In Orissa, the Kara family of rulers began to reign with Tosali as their capital. The founder of the family was Kṣēmaṅkaradeva, also called Nṛ(sīṅ)gatāpha, a *paramōpāsaka* (devout worshipper of Buddha). His son was Śivakaradeva, a *parama-tā-thāgata* (supreme Bauddha) and *narapati*. His son Śubhakaradeva was a *paramasaugata*. This king, about the end of the century gave two villages to hundred Brāhmaṇas.[1] He sent in 795 A.D. to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong, a Buddhist manuscript, through a monk called Prājñā who studied *yōga* in the monastery of Oḍradēśa.[2]

A branch of the Stambha dynasty of Assām (Kāmarūpa) ruled in a part of Orissa in the VIII century. Of this line are known the names of Kāñcanastambha, Kalapastambha Vikramāditya and *Mahārājādhirāja Rāṇaka* Kulastambha.[3]

In Southern Kaliṅga the early Eastern Gaṅga dynasty having died out chiefly on account of the attacks of some Śavara chiefs, anarchy prevailed. In about 726 A.D. Kāmārṇavā killed Śabarāditya on the battle-field and took possession of the kingdom of Kaliṅga. Thus was founded the later dynasty of Eastern Gaṅgas with Dantapura

1. E.I., xv, p. 2.

2. For more details about these Kara kings, see H. O., I, ch. xi. *Ed.*

3 In the epigraphical records these rulers are noted as members of the Śulki family. Their grants were issued from Kodāloka. Their tutelary deity was Stambeśvari. See H.O.I., ch. xiii; and D.H.N.I, Vol. I, pp. 438-443. *Ed.*

as one of the capitals, in addition to Kaliṅganagara. He was succeeded by his brother Danārṇava[1] who ruled till about 802 A.D.

At Bādāmī Vijayāditya had succeeded Vinayāditya in 696 A.D. He had, besides the usual title of *Satyāśraya*, that of *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, "the asylum of the whole world". Vijayāditya "while yet a child.......... conducted war-like operations in the presence of his father who was desirous of conquering the north.......... He delivered to his father the variegated *pālidhvaja*, the *ḍhakkā* and the *mahāśabda* (musical instruments), rubies and intoxicated elephants............Though taken prisoner ....he put an end to anarchy and popular commotion by his prowess alone"[2] [probably when his father was away from the capital]. His inscriptions range from Dhārwār to Gujarāt. Pūjyapāda, author of the grammar,

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1. J.A.H.R.S., I, p. 122. The evidence cited here refers to the second set of the Korni Copper plates of Anantavarma *alias* Cōḍagaṅga dated Śaka *samvat* 1034 (A.D. 1112). It is in agreement with the second set of the Vizagapatam plates of the same king dated Śaka *samvat* 1040. But his First set of the Vizagapatam and Korni plates dated Śaka *samvat* 1003 do not mention these kings or their exploits. See J.A.H.R.S., I, pp. 40-48, 106-124; I.A., XVIII, 161-172. The story associated with the names of Kāmārṇava and his brothers in the second set of the Korni and Vizagapatam plates reads like an account of the foundation of the *Early* Eastern Gaṅga line of kings. Probably this accounts for the omission of the names of these princes from the geneological tables prepared by some recent scholars, who consider Guṇamahārṇava (Guṇārṇava II) of Ātrēya-Gōtra to be the founder of the second or the *Later* Eastern Gaṅga dynasty about the close of the IX century A.D. Unfortunately the records of the Eastern Gaṅga kings are subject to so many interpretations that no two scholars have come to any definite unanimous conclusion about their geneology and chronology. Even those, who accept the [illegible] of the second set of the Korni plates, follow different chronological systems. See J.A.H.R.S., V, pp. 275-276; VI, pp. 200-209; XI, pp. 31-32; J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 287. *Ed.*

2. E.I., ix, p. 203.

Jainendra, was patronized by him. Among his feudatories was *Rājā* Maṅgalarasa who had the *birudas* *Vinayāditya*, *Yuddhamalla* and *Jayāśraya*, and was the son of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarma, younger brother of Vikramāditya I. He was the ruler of Gujarāt and his grant is the only one of that province dated in the Śaka era, all the others of this period being dated in the Kalacuri era.[1]

When Vinayāditya died in 733 A.D., his son succeeded him as Vikramāditya II. He married Kalacuri (Haihaya) princesses. Vikramāditya II "resolved to uproot the Pallava King, his natural foe (*prakṛtyamitra*), who had robbed of splendour the former kings of his line. Coming to the Tuṇḍāka *Viṣaya* [Sanskrit from of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, the Pallava district of Kāñcī] in great haste, he beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king named Nandipotavarma (Nandivarma Pallavamalla), took possession of particular musical instruments called *Kaṭumukhavāditra* and *Samudraghoṣa*, the *Khaṭvaṅgadhvaja*, many excellent and well-known musical instruments and a heap of rubies ....He entered, without destroying it, the city of Kāñcī.........acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temples of Rājasiṁheśvara and other gods, which had been caused to be built by Narasiṁha potavarma [Rājasimha]. He distressed Pāṇḍiya, Cōḷa, Kēraḷa, Kaḷabhra and other kings [a mere conventional boast]."[2] His inscriptions are found from Kāñcī to Barodā. The Tājikas (Arabs) who had already destroyed the Saindhava, Kacchella (Kach), Saurāṣṭra (Valabhī), Cāvoṭaka (Cāpa, Cāvaḍa), Maurya (of Citōrgaḍh), and Gurjara kings invaded the Lāṭa country in his reign, but were de-

1. D.K.D., p. 374.

2. E.I., ix, p. 205-6

feated by one of his feudatories, Avanijanāśraya Pulikēśī (Pulakeśin), before 739 A.D.

Kīrtivarman II took part in his father's expedition to Kāñcī. "Having asked for and obtained an order to put down the Lord of Kāñcī, the enemy of his family, he led an expedition, defeated the Pallava king in every quarter, who, unable to meet him in an open field had taken refuge in a fort, made him powerless, took possession of many ruttish elephants, gold and *crores* of rubies and delivered them to his father..........He gradually attained to the position of an emperor."[1] His inscriptions have been found in the Dhārwār and Bijāpur Districts and in Mysore. Notwithstanding his *Sārvabhaumapada* (emperorship), the Cāḷukya sovereignty was put an end to in his reign by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The Lāṭa branch of the Cāḷukya family was founded by Dhārāśraya Jayasiṁhavarma, a younger brother of Vikramāditya I. Jayasiṁha's son, *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya issued grants in the Kalacuri era. Jayasimha was succeeded by his second son Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāja, who alone issued a charter dated in the Śaka era, in 731 A.D. His younger brother, Avanijanāśraya Pulikēśī succeeded him and issued a charter dated in the Kalacuri era, in 739 A.D.[2] Then Lāṭa passed into the hands of a scion of minor branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa house, *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Kakkarāja.[3]

Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule, the most brilliant in the history of the Deccan, was ushered in by Dantidurga's defeat of Kīrtivarman II in 757 A.D. It is said that he conquered in no time the Vallabha (Kīrtivarman II) who [or rather

1. E.I., ix, p. 206.
2. E.I., viii. pp. 230-1.
3. I.A., xviii, p. 55.

whose forefathers] had defeated the lord of Kāñcī, the king of Kērala, the Cōla, the Pāṇḍiya Śrī Harṣa and Vajraṭa".[1]

Dantidurga says that his elephants rent asunder the banks of the Mahī, the Mahānadī, and the Rēvā. He deprived the Western Cāḷukyas of all but their southern provinces before 754 A.D. It is claimed that Dantidurga "completed the acquisition of sovereignty by subjugating the ruler of Sandhubhūma (?), the lord of Kāñcī, the rulers of Kaliṅga and (Dakṣiṇa) Kōsala, the lord of the Śri Śaila country. *i.e.*, the Kurnool territory, the Śēṣas (perhaps a tribe of Nāgas, in the forest-country) and the kings of Mālwa, Lāṭa and Taṅka."[2]

This was not all an empty boast, though the subjugation of these kings was not necessarily by means of military operations. Dantidurga assumed the title of *Mahrājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭaraka Paramesvara, Vallabha, Pṛthvīvallabha* and *Khaḍgāvalōka*, 'whose look s like a sword' *etc*. He died without issue.

Kṛṣṇa I, his uncle, succeeded him. Kṛṣṇa had the titles *Akālavarṣa*, 'one who rains (even) in the season when it is not due', *Śubhatuṅga*, 'prominent in good fortune', and *Pralayamahāvarāha* 'the great Boar (that rescued the earth after *pralaya*, here of the *Kali* ocean)'. He completed the conquest of the Cāḷukya territory, and finally extinguished Cāḷukya rule soon after 757 A.D. and thus "tranformed into a deer (*i.e.* put to flight) the great boar (the crest of the Cāḷukyas) which was seized with an itching for battle, and which, kindled with the warmth of

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1. E.I., xiv, p. 128. For a detailed history of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas see R.T.T. *Ed.*

2. I.A., xi, p. 108 ff. Is Taṅka the Thakka state of the Panjāb?

bravery, attacked him".[1] He had two sons, Gōvinda and Dhruva.

Gōvinda II *Jagattuṅga, Prabhūtavan Pratāpāvaloka, Śrīvallabha* succeeded Kṛṣṇa *Akālavarṣa.* But "sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom."[2]

His younger brother Dhruva rebelled against him and although Gōvinda "had fetched in large numbers those hostile kings even, the ruler of Mālava and others, who were joined by the lord of Kāñcī, the Gaṅga and him of Vēṅgī." Dhruva defeated him and obtained the sovereignty.[3] Dhruva was also called Dhōra, *Dhārāvarṣa, Kalivallabha* 'favourite of warriors', and *Nirupama,* peerless; and had *Śrīvallabha* as his specific title. Jinasena's (Jaina) *Harivaṁśa* tells us that it was finished in 783-4 A.D. when there were reigning in the South Śrīvallabha (*i.e.* Dhruva); in the East Vatsarāja, king of Avantī; in the west Varāha or Jayavarāha in the territory of the Sauryas. This gives a definite date for Dhruva.[4] For punishing the kings who had helped his brother, Dhruva imprisoned Śrī-puruṣa, the Gaṅga, drove Vatsarāja into the deserts of Maru (Mārvāḍ) and despoiled him of the two white umbrellas of sovereignty which he had taken from the king of Gauḍa and compelled the Pallava King to pay him homage. Dhruva also "snatched in battle one white parasol from the trembling lord of Kōsala" and another from "the king of the north country (Indrāyudha of Kanauj.)"[5]

Dhruva's son Gōvinda III was specially selected by his father from among several brothers and invested by

1. I.A., xii, p. 162.
2. E.I., iv, p. 287.
3. E.I., iii., p. 104.
4. E.I., vi, pp. 195-7.
5. E.I., ix. pp. 38-9.

him with the *Kanthik* of *Yuvarāja*-ship. On his father's death he was opposed by a confederacy of 12 kings headed by Stambha, his own elder brother. "Gōvinda made their lustre pale as the *Sāvarta* fire extinguishes the twelve suns that shine at the end of a *Kalpa*." He then released the Gaṅga king whom his father had imprisoned, but had to imprison him again. He then marched into Lāṭa and its king fled "as the clouds disappear on the approach of the autumnal season." He received the homage of Vatsarāja in Mālwā and Mārāśarva in the Vindhyan slopes. A minor Rāṣṭrakūṭa family was settled in Lāṭa and he wrested a portion of the province from the hands of that family and made it over to his brother Indra, from whence two different Rāṣṭrakūṭa houses shared Lāṭa between them. He then marched South to the Pallava country and levied tribute from Dantivarma Pallava. The king of Vengi had to acknowledge his overlord-ship.[1]

The Eastern Cāḷukya rule continued uninterrupted over the east coast south of the Eastern Gaṅga dominions. Jayasiṁha I ruled from 696 A.D. to 709 A.D. and his brother Viṣṇurāja (Viṣṇu Varddhana III) for 37 years. He was followed by Vijayāditya I, who had the titles of *Bhaṭṭāraka* and *Vikramarāma* (746-764 A.D.). He is said to have acquired "the splendour of victory by his own arm in many war-like encounters." His son *Mahārāja* Viṣṇu Varddhana IV reigned for 36 years and "subdued the surrounding territories of his enemies with the edge of his flashing sword."[2] He was defeated by Govinda III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.

1. I.A., vi, p. 63.
2. S.I.I., i, p. 35.

The Noḷamba Pallavas claimed to be descended from Trinayana Pallava. They became chiefs of the Bellary District, which was part of his dominions. The first king of this house of whom there is a reference in inscriptions was Maṅgaḷa Noḷambādhirāja and his district was called Noḷambavāḍi 32,000, adjoining the Āndhrapatha (Vaḍugavaḷi), where the Mahābāṇas were ruling. His son was Siṁhapōta, whose son Pallavādhirāja Cāruponnera, was the first powerful prince of the dynasty. He "conquered the whole earth upto its corners" as the feudatory of Gōvinda III in *c.* 800 A.D.

At Kāñcī, Nandivarma Pallavamalla, descended from a collateral branch of the royal family (from Bhīmavarma brother of Siṁhaviṣṇu), became king, though a young boy, in 707 A.D. General Udayacandra, the Muttaraiya viceroy of Tanjore, and others helped him. He reigned for 65 eventful years. At first he had to fight with Citramāya, an illegitimate claimant to the throne who was helped by the contemporary Pāṇḍiya king. His general Udayacandra defeated them in many battles. In the course of this campaign Pallavamalla was besieged in the fort of Nandipura (near Kumbhakōṇam) and Uḍayacandra relieved him. After his Tamil enemies were finally disposed of Pallavamalla 'took away from the Western Gaṅga King (probably Śivamāra) a necklace, called *Ugrōdaya*.'[1]

His general Udayacandra went on an expedition to the North and defeated Telugu and other chiefs at various places, as well as Udayana, the Savara king of Śrīpura (in Mahākosala), captured his 'mirror-banner made of peacock's tail', and expelled Pṛthvivyāghra, the Niṣādha chief, who had invaded the dominions of Viṣṇurāja, *i.e.*

1. S.I.I., Vol. ii, p. 518.

Viṣṇuvardhana III the Eastern Cāḷukya king. Viṣṇuvardhana having submitted to Pallavamalla, Udayacandra drove the Niṣādha out of his territory.[1] Pallavamalla then celebrated the *aśvamēdhayāga*.[2] In the latter part of his reign Vikramāditya II, the Cāḷukya king of Bādāmī invaded his dominions, defeated him and occupied Kāñcī for a while. Pallavamalla soon recovered his capital. Some years after, Dantidurga the Rāṣṭrakūṭa demanded and obtained his allegiance, and gave his daughter Rēvā in marriage to him. Pallavamalla ruled till about 772 A.D. His feudatories were the Muttaraiya chiefs of Tanjore and the Bāṇas of Vaḍugavali (Āndhrapatha).

Dantivarma succeeded his father, Nandivarma Pallavamalla, *c.* 772 A.D. He was named after his grandfather, Dantidurga, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor. After him he took the title of *Udiramēgha*, and also that of *Viḍēlviḍugu*. He reigned for 51 years. Early in his reign he was defeated by Jaṭila Parāntaka Varaguṇa Mahārāja, the Pāṇḍiya at Peṇṇāgaḍam on the south bank of the Kāvērī, near Tanjore. Dantivarma helped the Tamil chief Adigan in his wars with Varaguṇa later in this century. The Pāṇḍiya again invaded the Pallava territory and occupied a large part of it.

The Bāṇas continued to be Pallava feudatories in the VIII century. Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya was the feudatory of Dantivarma.[3]

The Western Gaṅga King during the major part of the VIII century was *Mahārāja* Bhūvikrama Koṅgaṇi. Being subject to the Cāḷukyas he took the title of *Śrīvallabha*. His younger brother, Śivamāra, called himself

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1. S.I.I., ii, p. 372.
2. This is doubtful. See H. P. K., p. 126. *Ed.*
3. E.I., xi, p. 225.

merely an *arasa*. Nandivarma Pallavamalla recognized his royal status and crowned him as king (*c*. 760 A.D.) and took him as a subordinate ally. The Western Gaṅgas and the Pallavas were allies for nearly two centuries. His son was Pṛthvī Koṅgaṇi Śrī Puruṣa Muttaraśa (766-805 A.D.)[1]

The title Muttaraśa indicates that the Gaṅgas had become allies also of the Mutharaiyas of Tanjore. Śrī-Puruṣa became an independent monarch on the downfall of the Western Cāḷukyas and took the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*.

The Muttaraiyas, probably of Pāṇḍiya stock who inhabited the country to the west of the Pāṇḍiya territory became feudatories of the Pallavas and rulers of the Cōḷanāḍu. Their capitals were Tanjore and the fort near that town, called Vallam. They helped the Pallavas in their wars with the Pāṇḍiyas and fought with the latter also on their own account. The earliest Muttaraiya chief named in a record is Perumbiḍugu I *alias* Kuvāvan Māṛan. His son was Iḷaṅgōvadiyaraiyan *alias* Māṛan Paramēśvaran. His son, Perumbiḍugu *alias* Śuvaran Māṛan, was a contemporary probably of Nandivarma Pallavamalla. This last chief built a temple to a Tamil goddess, Piḍāri. He was a patron of many Tamil poets. He is perhaps the person mentioned as a very charitable prince in the Tamil poem *Nāladiyār*. The epithet *Māṛan* in the names of these Muttaraiya chiefs indicates their caste affinities with the Pāṇḍiyas. The next Muttaraiya was Mārppiḍugu, feudatory of Dantivarma.[2]

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1. The author has not cited any evidence for these dates. The latest writer on the subject has given the following chronology :— Bhuvikrama, 608-670 A.D.; Śivamāra I, 679-726 A.D.; Śrī Puruṣa, 726-788 A.D., and Śivamāra II, 788-812. See G.T., pp. 46-68. *Ed*,

2. E. I., xiii, pp. 136 ff,

The Cōḷa princes continued to rule at Uṟaiyūr, notwithstanding the ascendency of the Pallavas. Pugaḷccōḷa-Nāyanār, one of the 63 Śaiva devotees, who defeated an Adigan of Koṅgu, and possessed Karūr, the ancient Cēra capital, belongs to this century. Another Cōḷa chief, Idaṅgali Nāyanār ruled at Koḍumbāṭūr (Pudukkottā state) about the same time. Another, Kūṟṟuva Nāyanār, became a powerful king and was crowned Cōḷa king at Cidambaram.

The Adigans of the Koṅgu country were always fighting with the Pāṇḍiyas and the Cēras.

The Pāṇḍiya king at the beginning of the century was Kōccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīran, who took the three titles of *Vānavan*, *Śembiyan* and *Cōḷan*, as also *Madurakaruṇāḍagan* and *Kongarkomān*. These titles show that his influence spread over the triple Tamil tracts. At that time the Pallava power was in a state of temporary eclipse and this explains his success in the *Trairājya*. His titles *Raṇadhīra* (which bears similarity to *Raṇarasika* and other titles of the Western Cāḷukyas of the time) and *Madurakarnāḍagan* indicate that he repulsed some Cāḷukya contingents, when he was *yuvarāja*; pershaps he met Vikramāditya I and stayed the latter's progress in the previous century. His son Māṟavarman Rājasimha I came into conflict with Pallavamalla, by assisting the latter's rival claimant to the throne and fought a number of battles with him. He besieged Pallavamalla at Nandipura near Kumbhakōṇam and took on the title of *Pallavabhañjana*. He reduced several recalcitrant Tamil chiefs like the Maḷava king, the Āy king, the Adigan king, in a series of battles. Probably he defeated the Muttaraiyas also. He fought at Veṅbai with Vallabha, probably the Western Gaṅga Bhūvikrama, who had taken the title, *Śrīvallabha* of his Cāḷukya overlord. The

Pāṇḍiya king captured a Gaṅga princess in this fight. He is said to have renewed the three Tamil capitals, Kūḍal (Madurā), Vañji (Karūr) and Kōḻi (Uṟaiyūr). Therefore the three places were under his control. He ruled from about 740 A.D. to about 765 A.D.

His son, Māṟañjaḍaiyan Parāntaka Varaguṇa Mahārāja succeeded him (765-815 A.D.) He was also called Neḍuñjadaiyan. He was the first Pāṇḍiya to adopt the Āryan custom of issuing copper-plate grants. It took more than 500 years for the custom to travel from Kāñcī to the Pāṇḍiya country. He has left also some stone records. Early in his reign he won a victory against Dantivarma at Peṇṇāgaḍam on the Kāvērī. He fought also with the king of Vēnāḍ (South Travancore) and captured a large number of elephants and horses and much treasure. But the king of Vēnāḍ was not entirely subjugated for he kept on fighting with Varaguṇa Mahārāja frequently, the Āy chieftain helping the Cēra king. Varaguṅa Mahārāja also fought with other Tamil chieftains and firmly established his rule over the triple Tamil country and a part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam besides. The chief of his foes, besides Dantivarma, was the Adigan king of Koṅgu country (capital Tagaḍūr, now Dharmapuri, in the Salem Dt.) whom he defeated notwithstanding that Adigan was supported by Pallava and Kēraḷa contingents. He continued to reign at the end of the century. He became a *parama vaiṣṇava* and patronized Tamil hymnists.[1]

The Cēra chiefs ruled over the old Cēra country. They were constantly fighting with the Pāṇḍiyas or petty Tamil chieftains in the outlying Tamil districts. Kulaśekhara was great Sanskrit and Tamil poet and has been counted as one of the 12 Vaiṣṇava *Āḻvārs*. He

1. For more details about these kings, see P.K., Ch. V. *Ed.*

assumed the formal title of lord of the three Tamil capitals. After his death, the Cēra power, on account of the Pāṇḍiyas, shifted to the country beyond the Ghāts.

iii. Ninth Century

The Kābul kingdom continued to be a wall obstructing the flood of Muhammadan invasion. In the year 870 A.D. Yākub Ibn Lais of Balkh defeated the Kābul king, entered Kābul and took away much booty.[1] A few years before or after this, the Kābul king was Lagatūrmān. He "had bad manners and a worse behaviour, on account of which people complained of him greatly to the *vazīr*," Kallar, a Brāhmaṇa. "The latter had been fortunate, in so far as he had found by accident hidden treasures, which gave him much influence and power." So "the *vazīr* put him (the Shāhi) in chains and imprisoned him for correction, but then he himself found ruling sweet, his riches enabled him to carry out his plans, and so he occupied the royal throne."[2] The word Kallar is a corruption of Lalliya, which was the name of the founder of the Brāhmaṇa Shāhi dynasty of Kābul. Of Lalliya, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* says, placed "between the rulers of the Darada (of Kāśmīr) and Turuṣkas as between a lion and a bear, [he] resembled Āryāvarta (as it lies) between the Himālaya and the Vindhya (mountains); in whose town of Udabhāṇḍa (Waihind) other kings found safety, just as the mountains in the ocean when threatened by the danger of having their wings cut (by Indra); whose mighty glory (outshone) the kings of the North just as the sun-disc (out-shines) the stars in heaven."[3] Lalliya lived until

1. E.H.I., ii, p. 419.
2. A.I., ii, p. 13.
3. R., v., 152-155.

after Śaṅkaravarma ascended the throne of Kāśmīr (883 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son Sāmanta. Sāmanta was a powerful king whose coins are found in great profusion not only in Afghānistān, but throughout the Panjāb and the whole of northern India. His name is found on the coins of his successors, extending even down to the Muhammadan conquest of Delhi, in 1192 A.D., and in the coins of Rāi Piṭhōra, though it is just possible that 'Sāmanta' in later coins is a mere title.[1] Kamala succeeded Sāmanta before 900 A.D, for he was the contemporary of 'Amru Lais (878-900 A.D.).

The province of Sindh continued under the rule of the Khalīfas. During the reign of Khalīfa Māmūn (813-833 A.D.) many Arab families, *e.g.* Sūmrahs and Thakims colonized Sindh. Under Khalīfa Mutassim-bi-llah (833-841 A.D.), the Jāts were defeated and offered an exemption from the capitation-tax if they presented each a hunting hound, "so that the price of a dog rose as high as fifty dirhams." Then the Mēds were defeated and brought under Muslim rule. The power of the Khalīfas began to decline in Sindh about 879 A.D. when the two kingdoms of Multān and Mansura were established there, nominally subject to the Khalīfa, but actually independent.[2] The rule of the Arabs was put an end to by Mahmūd of Ghaznī in 1025 A.D.

In Kāśmīr, the Kārkōṭaka dynasty was overthrown by Utpala early in the century. He built the town of Utpalapura and the temple of Utpalasvāmi. Avantivarma became king in 856 A.D. He gave many gifts to Brāhmaṇas and temples, and was a great patron of poets.[3] He

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1. E.H I., ii, p. 422-3.
2. *Ibid.* i, p. 454.
3. For a detailed account of the rulers of the Utpala dynasty, see D.H.N.I., Vol. i, pp. 113-128. *Ed.*

was succeeded by his son, Saṅkaravarma who ruled from 883 to 920 A.D. He wrested from the lord of Gurjara Mahendrapāla, the Takkadeśa and to celebrate the victory built the town of Saṅkarapura, and a temple by levying heavy taxes, resumed endowments to temples, reduced the weight in the scales and introduced forced labour. Poets were neglected.[1]

Kanauj (Mahōdaya) was under the rule of Indrāyudha when the century began. Dharmapāla, the Gauḍa emperor invaded Kanauj, (*c.* 810 A.D.) defeated Indrāyudha and "with a sign of his eyes gracefully moved, he made over to the lord of Kānyakubja (Cakrāyudha) his own golden water-pitcher of coronation, lifted up by the delighted elders of Pañcāla, and acquiesced in by the Bhōja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gāndhāra and Kīra kings, bent down while bowing their heads trembling."[2] The long list of acquiescing kings included all who ruled round about Kanauj and were perhaps technically subject to its king. Their presence is a pious myth due to courtly exaggeration. Cakrāyudha did not reign very long; for in *c.* 816 A.D. the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II (Nāgāvalōka), son of Vatsarāja, completed the work which his father began. At first he defeated Dharmapāla of Gauḍa, and Dharmāpāla's protegee Cakrāyudha, "whose low state was manifested by his dependence on another (*i.e.* Dharmapāla)." Gōvinda III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor, went to his help and claims to have defeated Nāgabhaṭa, but this did not prevent the latter from becoming the emperor of Kanauj and acquiring the imperial power associated with the possession of Kanauj. He forcibly took possession of the hill-forts in

1. R., v, 128-180.
2. E.I., iv, p. 244 ff; vii. p. 31.

the countries of Ānarta, Mālwā, Kirāta (the forest principalities of the Vindhyan tract), Turuṣka (which must mean the Muhammadan province of the North-west), Vatsa (the region round Allahābād where the Vatsas ruled in the pre-Christian centuries and gave their name to the region), Matsya (Jaipur), *etc.* He was called Nāgāvaloka because he fought with elephants. It is also said of him that "in his splendour, the kings of Āndhra, Saindhava, Vidarbha, and Kaliṅga fell like moths............He fixed customs-duties according to the laws of the Kṣiatryas."[1] By this time the foreign commerce of India having passed into the hands of the Arabs, they travelled frequently to India and wrote about the country. Sulaimān (851 A.D.) called this emperor "king of Jurz" *i.e.* Gujarāt, which was his chief province before he acquired Kanauj. Sulaimān says, "this king maintains numerous forces, and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still he acknowledges that the king of the Arabs (it was the age of the great Abbāssid Khalīfs) is the greatest of kings. Among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he. His territories form a tongue of land (Sulaimān is thinking of the peninsula of Gujarāt). He has great riches and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his states with silver (and gold) dust and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers." Nāgabhaṭa and his descendants ruled over an empire much larger than was under Harṣa's rule. He had several feudatories. Of them one was Bhumbhuvaka, son of one Haragupta who lived in 815 A.D., "in

1. A.S.I., 1903-4, p. 284.

the prosperous reign of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Śrī Nāgabhaṭṭadēva who is meditating on the feet of *Mahārājādhiraja Paramēśvara* Śrī Vatsarājadēva."[1] Another feudatory of his was Guvaka I, the founder of the Cāhamāna house of Śākambharī (Sāmbhar) in Rājaputāna; he is said to have "attained to pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of Śrīman Nāgāvalōka, the foremost of kings (*pravaranṛpaḥ*)."[2]

Nāgabhaṭa II was succeeded by his son Rāmabhadradeva in 825 A.D. The only fact known about him is that he had a margrave or chief of the boundaries (*Maryādādhurya*) of the name of Vāilabhaṭṭa, ruling at Gōpādri (Gwālior). Rāma "got a son named Mihira, from the sun, propitiated by his mysterious vow."

Mihira became famous by the name of Bhōja I; he "trampled upon the kings of high descent" and "married Lakṣmī", *i.e.* became the fortunate ruler of the earth and "burned the Vaṅgas". He was *Paramabhagavatibhakta*, devout worshipper of Bhagavatī, who was the family-divinity (*Mūladēvatā*) of the Pratihāras, though each particular king had his own *iṣṭadēvatā*, 'personal divinity.'[3] He was the greatest of the Pratihāra emperors of Mahōdaya (Kanauj) and reigned from about 840 to 890 A.D. His power extended to the Indus and to Bengal.[4]

Al Masūdī writing in 940 A.D. says "the kingdom of the Bauūra (Parihār, Pratihāra), king of Kanauj,........... has four armies, according to the four quarters of the wind. Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men. The army of the north wars against the prince of Multān,

1. E.I., ix, pp. 199-200.
2. E.I., ii, p. 121.
3. A.S.I.R., 1903-4, pp. 282 ff.
4. R., v, 15.

and with the Mussalmāns, his subjects, on the frontier. The army of the south fights against the Balharā (Vallabha) *i.e.* Rāṣṭrakūṭa, king of Mānkīr (Mālkheḍ). The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction."[1]

Several Rājpūt families rose to eminence as Bhōja's feudatories and their members became the rulers of the leading states of Hindustān in the X and immediately succeeding centuries. One of Bhōjadev's feudatories was Gōvinda, who belonged to the Cāhamāna family. This family had entered into subordinate alliance with Bhōjadeva and helped him in his wars and thus gave him 'great pleasure'.[2]

Bhōja was succeeded by Mahendrapāla, whose other names were *Nirbhayanarēndra*, *Mahēndrāyudha*, *Mahiṣapāla* and *Bhāka*. Rājaśēkhara, the dramatist, calls himself the teacher (*guru*, *upādhyāya*) of this king. He assumed the title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* having by then degenerated so as to become the title of local governors appointed by the king. Mahendrapāla ruled till 908 A.D. An inscription of his time records the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu by some members of the Tomara clan. A member of this family is believed to have founded the town of Delhi in the next century.[3]

The Kalacuris (Haihayas, Cedis) were descended from Kārttavīrya who imprisoned, "the roaring and invincible Rāvaṇa" of the Vedic age. The family was in a state of eclipse for many centuries. In the VI century it rose to power on the death of the Vākāṭaka empire but

1. E.H.I., i. p. 23.
2. E.I., xiv, p. 180.
3. E.I., i, p. 244.

was again reduced to obscurity by the Cāḷukyas of Bādāmī, though the era which they got from the Traikūṭakas was kept up in the regions where they had ruled. In the latter half of the IX century Kokalladeva of this family, "having conquered the whole earth.........set up two unprecedented columns of his fame," *i.e.* supported Kṛṣṇarāja II, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa (who married his daughter), in the south and Bhōjadeva I in the north.[1] In the words of another inscription, he granted exemption from fear to Bhōja and Vallabharāja (Kṛṣṇa), as also to Harṣa, the sovereign of Citrakūṭa (*i.e.* the Candēla king) whose sister Naṭṭā he married.[2] The capital of the Cedis was Tripurī (now Jabalpur).

Mugdhatuṅga son of Kōkkaladeva, succeeded him. He bore the titles of *Raṇavigraha* and *Prasiddhadhavala*. A verse in Jahlaṇa's *Suktimuktāvali*, attributed to Rājaśekhara, says, "of rivers the Mēkalasutā (*i.e.* Narmadā), of kings Raṇavigraha, and of poets Surānanda, are the ornaments of the country of Cedi." His daughter Lakṣmī was married to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Jagattuṅga.[3] His reign continued in the early years of the X century A.D. He had seventeen brothers, who became lords of *Maṇḍalas*. One of them became the lord of Mahākosala and founded the Ratnapura branch of the Cedi family who ruled in the Central Provinces.

The first prince of the Candrātraya (Candēla) family was Nannuka. He "conquered many hosts of enemies," and set up independent power at Citrakūṭa (in Bundelkhaṇḍ) in the middle of the IX century. His son was Vākpati. His "pleasure-mound (was) that Vindhya,

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1. E.I., i, p. 264.
2. E.I., i, p. 252; ii, p. 300.
3. E.I., iv, p. 280.

the peaks of which are charming with the sweet notes of his excellencies sung by Kirāta women". His two sons were Jayaśakti (Jēja) and Vijayaśakti (Vijaka, Vija). The province came to be called after the former of the two, Jējākabhukti (Jājāhoti, Jājhōti, in the vernacular). Vijaya subdued the neighbouring countries and reached like Rāma " even the southernmost point of India", probably an exaggeration. He had a son, Rāhila who favoured his friends and punished his enemies.[1]

An inferior rival to the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj was the Pāla empire of Bengāl, of which Dharmapāla coutinued to be the sovereign in the IX century. In *c.* 810 A.D. he defeated Indrāyudha of Kanauj and gave the sovereignty to Cakrāyudha, with the consent of "the Bhōja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavána (*i.e.* Muhammadan) Avantī, Gāndhāra and Kīra kings", who all ruled in the provinces round Kanauj.[2] But Nāgabhaṭa II defeated him, notwithstanding the help given to him by Gōvinda III, the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor. Dharmapāla's younger brother was Vākpāla; the latter's son[3] was Devendrapāla (Devapāla). He "made tributary the earth as far as Rēvā's parent" (the Vindhyas) "as far as Gaurī's father" (the Himālayas) "and as far as the two occans", an evident piece of gross exaggeration. He is said to have "eradicated the race of Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas and scattered the conceits of the rulers of Draviḍa and Gurjara", another piece of exaggeration. His nephew, Vigrahapāla I, succeeded

1. E.I., i, p. 123, and p. 138. See also I.A., xxxvii, pp. 114-132. *Ed.*

2. E.I., iv, p. 252.

3. According to another interpretation of the available records, Devapāla was a son of Dharmapāla. See I. A., xxxviii, p. 247. *Ed.*

him. In the last quarter of the century Vigrahapāla's son Nārāyaṇapāla became the Gauḍa King.[1]

Abu Zaid calls this kingdom of the Pālas Ruhmi (perhaps a corruption of Dharmapāla) and says it is at war with that of Jurz. The king is not held in much estimation ....It is said that when he goes out to battle he is followed by about 50,0C0 elephants. He takes the field only in winter, because elephants cannot endure thirst, and can only go out in the cold season. It is stated that there are from ten to fifteen thousand men in his army who are employed in fulling and washing clothes. There is a stuff [muslin] made in his country which is not to be found elsewhere; so fine and delicate is this material that a dress made of it may be passed through a signet-ring. It is made of cotton and we have seen a piece of it. Trade is carried on by means of *kauris*, which are the current money of the country. They have gold and silver in the country, aloes (by which sandalwood is meant), and the stuff called *samara*, of which *madabs* are made."[2] Ibn Khurdadba testifies to the fact that between the king of Bengal and the other kings (of the south) communication was kept up by ships.[3]

In Kāmarūpa the dynasty of Pralambha came to power in the IX century. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Parameśvara* Harjara Varma was the ally of the Pālas (830 A.D.). His successor Vana Māla was also a great ruler. "He acquired great fame by rebuilding the temple of Hāṭakeśvara Śiva." He also built palatial buildings. Balavarma was the last king of this line.[4]

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1. For more details regarding the history, geneology and chronology of these Pāla emperors, See P. B.; I. A., xxxviii, pp. 233-248, xlix, pp. 189-196; D.H.N.I., Vol. I, Ch. vi. *Ed.*

2. E.H.I., i, p. 5.

3. *Ib.* pp. 13-14, 361.

4. H.A., pp. 30-33. *Ed.*

In Orissa the Koṅgōda Śailodbhavas and other petty kings ruled. About the end of the century, the Sōmavaṁśī kings, whose rule started first in the Mahākosala, spread their sway over Orissa and ultimately became the rulers of the Three Kaliṅgas.

The Eastern Gaṅga king, Kāmārṇava II, ruled from 802 to 852 A.D. at Kaliṅganagara, where "he built a lofty temple for an emblem of the God Īśa (Śiva) in the form of a *liṅga* to which he gave the name Madhukēśa because it came out [*i.e.* was discovered in the hollow] of a *madhūka* tree."[1] He was succeeded in order by Raṇārṇava, Vajrahasta I, Kāmārṇava III who "struck down with one arrow seven warriors that came with the desire of killing him" as Rāghava "struck seven trees" with one arrow.[1]

In Mahākosala Candra Gupta succeeded his brother Tīvradeva. He was a great warrior and helped his brother in his battles. His son was Harṣa Gupta, the *prākparameśvara*, 'Great lord of the East', "who unceasingly (spent his time) in good assemblies". He married Vāsaṭā, daughter of Sūryavarma of the "family of the Varmas great on account of (their) supremacy over Magadha". He was succeeded by his son Bālārjuna Mahāśiva Gupta, "who conquered the earth"[2] with the aid of his brother Raṇakēsarī. His son Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta was a great conqueror. He became, 'lord of Kaliṅga' as well as 'lord of Kosala', and he ruled over Kosala, Orissa and Koṅgōda and his power was acknowledged by the third province of the Trikaliṅga, South Kaliṅga, whose Gaṅga

1. J.A.H.R.S., i, p. 122. For an entirely different geneological and chronological conclusions, see *Ibid*, v, p. 126; vi, pp. 200-209; xi pp. 31-32; 9. B.O.R.S. xviii, p. 287; and D.H.N.I., vol. i, pp. 447ff. *Ed.*

2. E.I., xi, pp. 184-7.

kings had become weak in the latter half of the IX century. His grants from victorious camps (*Kaṭaka*) ranging from his 6th year to his 31st year are known.[1] He started what has been called the Somavaṁśī or Kesarī line of the kings of Orissa.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire was the most powerful one in India in the IX century. Gōvinda III continued to rule till 815 A.D. He conquered Dantivarma of Kāñcī and levied tribute from him in 804 A.D.[2] He took measures to transfer his capital from Nāsik to Mānyakhēṭa (Mālkhēḍ in the Nizām's dominion). He sent a peremptory order to 'the Lord of Vēṅgī' (Narēndra Mṛgarāja Vijayāditya II) to construct the outer wall round the place (807 A.D.)[3] His dominions extended from the west coast far across to the Eastern ghāts and from Mālwā and the Vindhya mountains to beyond the Tuṅgabhadrā in the south. This was the reason why he transferred his capital to a central place. In 810 A.D. he went to the help of Dharmapāla of Bihār and defeated Nāgabhaṭa II. Gōvinda's special *birudas*, besides *Śrīvallabha*, were *Prabhūtavarṣa*. 'the abundant rainer', *Jagattuṅga*, 'prominent in the world', *Janavallabha*, 'the favourite of the people'.

His son, Amōghavarṣa I, the greatest emperor of the dynasty ruled from 815 A.D. to 878 A.D. As he succeeded to the throne when very young, there were rebellions against his authority, but his cousin Suvarṇavarṣa Karkarāja of Gujarāt "vanquished the tributary Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience,

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1. E.I., iii, pp. 341-5; viii, p. 139.

2. I.A., xi, p. 127. For a detailed history, See R. T. T. *Ed.*

3. I.A. vi, p. 71. Some scholars identify 'the Lord of Vēṅgī' with Bhīma Salukki, the brother and rival of Vijayāditya II. See J.A.H.R.S., iii, p. 151. *Ed.*

dared to rebel with a powerful army, and he speedily placed Amōghavarṣa on his throne."[1] He soon made his power felt far and wide, so that an officer of his, Dēvaṇṇayya, says in an inscription of 866 A.D., that he was "worshipped by the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Magadha, Māḷava and Vēṅgī."[2] This statement is not a hyperbole.

Throughout his reign there were constant wars between him and the Eastern Cāḷukyas. Amōghavarṣa's Eastern Cāḷukya contemporary was Narēndra Mṛgarāja Vijayāditya II, who fought during twelve years, by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Gaṅgas and the Raṭṭas.[3] But Amōghavarṣa I soon retrieved his reputation and raised "again the glory of the Raṭṭa kingdom, drowned in the ocean of the Cāḷukyas and became *Vīranārāyaṇa*.........(and) destroyed the fiery Cāḷukyas (his enemies).........just as (a gardener) after removing the thorns by means of a stick, burns chick-peas, the stalks of which have been plucked out with the roots."[4]

Amōghavarṣa completed the fortifications of Mānyakhēṭa which his father had commenced and made the place his capital. He was a great patron of men of letters, especially among the Jainas. After a reign of 63 years he abdicated in 878 A.D. in favour of his son, Kṛṣṇa II, who had been *yuvarāja* for some years. Amōghavarṣa assumed, besides the usual titles of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs, the special ones of *Nṛpatuṅga*, 'prominent among kings', *Mahārāja Ṣaṇḍa*, 'bull among

1. I.A., xiv, p. 201.
2. E.I., vi, p. 106; I.A., xii, p. 218. See R.T.T., p. 75. *Ed.*
3. I.A., xx, p. 101. S.I.I., i, p. 41.
4. E.I., ix, p. 39.

kings', *Atiśaya Dhavala*, 'excessively white', and *Lakṣmī-vallabhēndra*. "His proper name is not yet known (Amōghavarṣa being but a title meaning 'the fruitful rainer'). But, from the way in which his sovereignty is likened to the sovereignty of the god Viṣṇu............from the *biruda Lakṣmīvallabhēndra*, 'the king who is the husband of Lakṣmī'............and from the epithet *Surāsuramard-dana*, 'subduer of gods and demons'............it seems likely that his name was either Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, or else a name beginning with the word Viṣṇu".[1]

Sulaimān, writing during the reign of Amōghavarṣa, says that "of the four great or principal kings of the world" the last is "the Balhara (*i.e.* Vallabharāja, Prākrit Ballaharāya), prince of the men who have their ears (*i.e.* ear-lobes) pierced. The Balhara is the most eminent of the princes of India, and the Indians acknowledge his superiority. Every prince in India is master in his own state, but all pay homage to the supremacy of Balhara. (This is a neat description of the Indian conception of empire.) The representatives sent by the Balhara to other princes are received with most profound respect in order to show him honour. He gives regular pay to his troops, as the practice is among the Arabs. He has many horses and elephants and immense wealth. The coins which pass in his country are the Tātariya dirhams (drammas) each of which weighs a dirham and a half of the coinage of the king. They are dated from the year in which the dynasty acquired the throne. They do not, like the Arabs, use the Hijra of the prophet, but date their eras from the beginning of their king's reign: and their kings live long, frequently reigning for fifty year. The inhabitants of the Balhara's country say that if their kings live and reign a long time, it is solely in consequence of the favour shown to the Arabs. In fact, among

1. E.I., vi, p. 100, (Fleet).

all the kings there is no one to be found who is so partial to the Arabs as the Balhara; and his subjects follow his example. [Notwithstanding this pious explanation of Sulaimān, the real reasons why the Vallabha favoured the Arabs were (1) hostility between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pratihāras: (2) the latter felt the pinch of the Arab invasion, while the former being farther away from North west India did not; and (3) the Vallabhas got revenue from taxing the Arab traders]. Balhara is the title borne by all the kings of this dynasty. It is similar to the Cosroes (of the Persians), and is not a proper name."[1] Abu-l Kasim Ubaidu-l-lah, popularly known as Ib Khurdaba, a Pārsee convert to Islam, says, "the greatest king of India is the Balhara, whose name imports 'king of kings.' He wears a ring in which is inscribed the following sentence: 'What is begun with resolution ends with success.'"[2].

Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Kṛṣṇa II *Akālavarṣa*, *Śubhatuṅga*, succeeded his father Amōghavarṣa, 878 A.D. He married a daughter of Kōkalla, the founder of the Cedi house. His teacher was Guṇabhadra, the famous Jaina author. Wars with the Eastern Cāḷukyas continued in his reign. Vijayāditya III, the Eastern Cāḷukya, is said to have "frightened the fire-brand Kṛṣṇa (II) and Kṛṣṇa had to do honour to his arms",[3] before 888 A.D. In the reign of the next Cāḷukya king, Bhīma I, Kṛṣṇa with the help of Kōkalla overran the country of Vengi.[4] Kṛṣṇa ruled till 912 A.D.

1. E.H.I., i, pp. 3-4
2. E.H.I., i, p. 13.
3. I.A., xx, pp. 102-3.
4. Kṛṣṇa does not appear to have met with success in this campaign. His opponent, Bhima I, claims to have defeated him and his allies in the battles of Niravadyapura (the modern Niḍadavōlu) and Peruvangūru-grāma (*i.e.* Peda Vangūru near Ellore). See R.T.T., p. 96. *Ed.*

The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vengi, who had become entirely Teluguized by this time, were at constant feud with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during this century. Vijayāditya II, *alias* Narēndra Mṛgarāja, ruled from 799 A.D. to 843 A.D. Gōvinda III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty claimed him as a vassal and summoned him to help in building the fortifications of Mālkhēḍ.[1] But when Govinda III died, not only did he recover independent sovereignty but extended his power in all directions. Then "the brave king Vijayāditya,—having fought 108 battles, in which he acquired power by his arm, with the armies of the Gaṅgas (Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatories) and Raṭṭas for twelve years, by day and by night, sword in hand, by means of polity and valour,—built the same number (*i.e.*, 108) large temples of Śiva,"[2] or as the god is named in other inscriptions, Narēndraśiva, being called after the monarch who was Narēndra Mṛgarāja. The phrase "one hundred and eight" means "many".

His son, Kali-Viṣṇuvardhana, fifth of that name, ruled for one and a half years and was considered a skilled warrior and pious man.

His son, Vijayāditya III, ruled from 844 A.D. to 888 A.D. His surnames were *Guṇaga*, *Guṇagāṅka* or *Guṇakēnalla Tribhuvanāṅkuśa*. "Having been challenged by the lord of the Raṭṭas (Amōghavarṣa), this lord,—who possessed the strength of Śiva, (who resembed) the sun by the power obtained by his strong arm, and who had gained great and excellent might by his strength, which impressed its mark on the universe,—conquered the unequalled Gaṅgas, cut off the head of Maṅgi in battle, frightened the firebrand Kṛṣṇa (II)[3]

1. I.A., vi, p. 71. See p. 408 *supra*, note 3. *Ed.*

2. S.I.I., i, p. 41; E.I., iv, p. 239; I.A., xx, p. 101.

3. But Hultzsch rejects this identification; according to him *saṅkila* is a proper name and does not mean 'fire-brand' here. See E.I., iv, pp. 226-227. *Ed.*

and burnt his city completely."[1] Another inscription gives more details of this war. "Having slain in great battle Maṅgi, the king of the great Noḍamba rāṣṭra, having defeated the Gaṅgas who took refuge on the peak of Gaṅgakūṭa, and having terrified Saṅkila (or Śaṅkuka or Śaṅkaragaṇa), the lord of the excellent Ḍāhala (or Cedi), who was joined by the fierce Vallabha (Kṛṣṇa II), ruled the earth for forty-four years."[2] Another account is more vivid. "The great lord Guṇaga Vijayāditya" was "the hero, who played the game of ball on the battlefield with the head of Maṅgirāja; who burnt Cakrakūṭa (in Bastar state); who frightened Saṅkila, residing in Kiraṇapura (one of the towns which the numerous junior sons of Kōkalla acquired) and joined by Kṛṣṇa; who restored his dignity to Vallabhēndra (Kṛṣṇa II who had to 'do honour to his arms', as already narrated), and who received elephants as tribute from the Kaliṅga (king)".[3]

He had two younger brothers, *yuvarāja* Vikramāditya and Yuddhamalla neither of whom ascended the throne. Cāḷukya Bhīma I Viṣṇu Vardhana, son of Vikramāditya, became king in 888 A.D. Early in his reign, Kṛṣṇa II invaded the Eastern Cāḷukya territory, and Cāḷukya-Bhīma, "whose other name was Drohārjuna, illumined the country of Vēṅgī,—which had been overrun by the army of the Raṭṭa claimants, just as by dense darkness after sunset,—by the flashing of his sword, the only companion of his valour, and became king."[4]

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1. S.I.I., i. p. 42, For a different version, see E.I., vi, pp. 226-27. Ed.
2. E.I., ix, p. 55.
3. E.I., iv, pp, 239-40.
4. S.I.I., i, p. 42.

Evidently Bhīma had to fight hard in recovering his country from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, for another inscription says that Cāḷukya Bhīma, "having been victorious in three hundred and sixty battles (and) having founded a temple (of Śiva), called Cāḷukya Bhīmeśvara, after his own name, ruled the earth for thirty years."[1] This temple was built in the town Bhīmavaram in the Gōdāvarī Dt. The phrase "three hundred and sixty" is another conventional term for "many".[2] Bhīma ruled till 918 A.D.

The first historical prince of the **Yādava dynasty** was Seuṇacandra I (*c.* 850 A.D). He gave his name to the *maṇḍala* over which he ruled and to its people. His son was Dhāḍiyappa. After him ruled Bhillama I. He was succeeded by his son Śrī Rāja or Rājagi. His son was Vaddiga who married Koddiyavvā, daughter of the *Mahānṛpa* Dhorappa. He was a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III. His son was Bhillama II. He was *Mahāsāmanta*, great feudatory, who had acquired the 'five sounds' and had the titles *arātiniṣūdana*, 'slayer of enemies,' *Saṅgrāma Rāma*, *Kandukācārya*, 'master in playing at ball,' *Sellaviḍēga*, *etc.* He destroyed in battle the fortune of the great prince of Muñja of Mālwā and established that of Raṇaraṅgabhīma (Tailapa, the founder of the later Western Cāḷukya dynasty).[3]

The Western Gaṅga King in 805 A.D. was Śivamāra II,[1] son of Śrī Puruṣa Mupparasa. "His forehead was adorned by a fillet (of royalty) placed there"

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1. E.I., iv, p. 240.

2. Battles of Niravadyapura and Peruvangūru-grāma are especially noted in the Eastern Cāḷukya records. In these battles Bhīma I defeated Kṛṣṇa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. *Ed.*

3. See E.H.D., pp. 173-177. According to the author of E.H.D., Vaddiga was succeeded by one Dhāḍiyasa, and the latter was succeeded by Bhillama. *Ed.*

by Gōvinda III with his own hands. From 810 A.D. to 840 A.D. ruled his brother Raṇavikrama Mahārājādhirāja Nītimārga Koṅguṇivarma Permānaḍi. He was engaged in fights constantly with Narēndra Mṛgarāja of Vengi both on his own account and on behalf of the Rāṣṭra kūṭas. He died probably of a wound received in a fight, for in a sculpture carved above an inscription of his death, a servant Agarayya is represented as drawing out from Nītimārga's left side a dagger with which the death-blow had been given.[1] Agarayya became the servant of his son, *Dharma Mahārājādhirāja* Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarma Parmanaḍi Rājamalla. This Satyavākya had a daughter, Jāyabbe who was married to Noḷambādhirāja of the Noḷamba Pallava line and became the mother of Mahendrādhirāja, king of Noḷambavāḍi (879 A.D.).[2] He ruled till 870 A.D. when he was succeeded by his son and *Yuvarāja* Būtuga I, who ruled upto 908 A.D.[3]

The direct descendants of Sivamāra II formed another Western Gaṅga line. His son Pṛthvīpati I succeeded to the rule of the part of the Western Gaṅga territory adjoining the Bāṇa, Pallava and Pāṇḍiya territories. "In the 26th year of Nṛpatuṅga Vikrama Varma the army of the Noḷamba (probably Mahendrādhirāja) attacked Āmañjūr (now Āmbūr in the North Arcot Dt.) in order to lift cattle", two servants of Pirudi Gaṅgaräiyar fell, and *Viragals* (hero-stones) were erected in honour of the two.[4] This shows that Pṛthvīpati I or as

1. See G.T., pp. 66 ff. for more details. *Ed.*
2. E.I., v, p. 163; vi, p. 66.
3. E.I., v, p. 163.
4. The geneology and chronology given here widely differ from those estimated by other scholars. Disagreement is inevitable so long as the genuineness of many copper-plate grants is not fully established. See H. I. S. I., pp. 346-348; G. T., pp. 23-24. *Ed.*

his name is rendered in Tamil Pirudi Gaṅgaraiyar was a feudatory of the Pallavas in *c.* 870 A.D. and was in terms of hostility with the Noḷamba Pallavas. He was "a matchless hero of wide fame. By the promise of security, he who was unequalled by others, saved Iriga and Nāgadanta, the sons of King Diṇḍi, who were afraid,—the one from King Amōghavarṣa, (and) the other from the jaws of death. At the head of a battle called Vaimbalguṛi, he who had slain the army of the enemy with (his) sword, caused a piece of bone, which had been cut off from his own body by the sharp sword, to enter the water of the Gaṅgā. Having defeated by force the Pāṇḍiya lord Varaguṇa at the head of the great battle of Śrīpuṛambiya (near Kumbhakoṇam), and having (thus) made his friend's title [that of the last Pallava king], Aparājita (*i.e.*, the unconquered], significant, this hero entered heaven, by sacrificing his own life". (*c.* 880 A.D.). "His son was the glorious king Māra-siṁha, the light of the Gaṅga family (and) the only abode of honour, who possessed the power of the sun in dispelling darkness—a crowd of enemies."[1]

The Pallavas. Dantivarma continued to rule at Kāñcī. He was defeated by Gōvinda III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor, who went to collect tribute from him in 804 A.D. His power was eclipsed on the South West by that of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan Varaguṇa Mahārāja who occupied the Pallava dominions upto Araiśūr on the banks of the Pennār. The Bāṇas were his feudatories. His son, Vijaya Nandi Vikrama Varma succeeded him in *c.* 826 A.D. He fought with the contemporary Pāṇḍiya king, Śrī Māra Vallabha, successor of Varaguṇa Mahārāja

1. S.I.I., ii, pp. 387-8.

at Teḷḷāṟu and gained the title of Teḷḷāṟṟeṟinda, 'Victor of Teḷḷāṟu'. He followed up the victory and won others over the retreating Pāṇḍiyas but his victorious march received a check at Kudamukku (Kumbhakōṇam in the Tanjore Dt.), about 830 A.D. He married Śaṅkhā, daughter of Amōghavarṣa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor. Like other Pallavas he took a number of titles, such as *Avanināraṇan*, *Varatuṅgan*, as is mentioned in a Tamil poem of which he is the hero, called *Nandikkaḷambagam*. He was succeeded (*c*. 849 A.D.) by his son Nṛpatuṅgavarman (Vijaya Nṛpatuṅga Vikramavarma). The name indicates that he was the daughter's son of Amōghavarṣa. The Pāṇḍiyan war continued in his reign and Nṛpatuṅga defeated the Pāṇḍiyas on the banks of the Araśilāru near Kumbhakōṇam and "burned down the hosts of the enemies together with the prosperity of their kingdoms on the bank of the Aricit" (in Tamil Araśilāṟu).[1] The Western Gaṅga Pirudi Gaṅgaraiyar (Pṛthvīpati I) helped him in his wars. The Noḷamba Pallavas were constantly raiding into his territories. He was the last great Pallava king and his inscriptions are found all over the country from Trichinopoly to North Arcot Districts.

His son Aparājitavarma ascended the throne in *c*. 875 A.D. The struggle with the Pāṇḍiyas continued in his reign. Helped by the Western Gaṅga King, Pṛthvīpati I, he inflicted a severe defeat on Varaguṇavarma, the Pāṇḍiya, at Kumbhakoṇam (*c*. 880 A.D.). But a new power had arisen in Tanjore and been steadily pressing against the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍiyas. A little before 900 A.D. Āditya Cōḷa of Tanjore extinguished Pallava rule and the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam became a part of the Cōḷa dominions.

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1. See H.P.K., Ch. IX. *Ed.*

The Pallava feudatories in this period, were scions of the Pallava family who established petty principalities. One Vijaya Narasiṁhavarma was ruling in the Kolār Dt. and *Vīragals* (memorial stones of heroes who died in fights) of his time have been found. Another was Vijaya Īśvaravarma, three stones of whose time have been deciphered.[1] Other feudatories were the Western Gaṅgas of Śivamāra's line as well as the Bāṇas, the Muttaraiyas having been swallowed in the middle of the century in the rising tide of the Cōḷas.

The Bāṇas claimed to be 'Lords of Nandagiri' in the Kolār Dt., as well as of Parivipuri in the Anantapur Dt., their capital was Tiruvallam, in the North Arcot Dt. and their dominions abutted on the Gaṅga territory. There were constant wars, alternating with alliances between the Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas.

The Bāṇa Chieftains of the IX Century were Vijayāditya *Māvali Vāṇarāya*, feudatory of Dantivarma (826-849 A.D.); his son Malladēva; the latter's son, Vikramāditya I *Māvali Vāṇarāya*, the feudatory of Nandivarma; and Vikramāditya's son, Vijayāditya II. He was ruling in 909 A.D. He dated his inscriptions in the Śaka era and not like his predecessors in the years of their Pallava overlords, because by his time the Pallava power had been vanquished by the Cōḷas.

After the extinction of the Pallava power Pallava princes became feudatories of the Cōḷas. One such was Śatti, also Śattiviḍaṅgan, under a Parakēsari, probably Parāntaka I.

The Noḷamba-Pallavas were always in conflict with their neighbours, the Mahābāṇas who were assisted by their neighbours the Vaidumba chiefs. A battle took

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1. E.I., vii, pp. 22-25.

place at Soveṭi in the reign of Noḷambādhirāja Poḷacora nomba, who with the assistance of his father-in-law Rācamalla Permāḍi fought with Mahābali Bāṇarasa and the Vaidumba *Mahārāja* Gaṇḍa Trinetra. Several *Vîragals* (memorial stones) commemorating the death of heroes in the raids of these rivals into each others' territories have been found. Noḷambādhirāja is said to have been "worshipped by many *Sāmantas*." In the middle of the IX century the Noḷamba territory included the Bellary, Anantapur, Kolār, Bangalore, Tumkur, Chittaldurg, Salem and Coimbatore Districts. The next king was probably Iriva Noḷamba, born to Noḷambādhirāja by a Kadamba princess (the Kadambas were still petty chiefs). In the third quarter of the century ruled one Maṅgi, feudatory of Amōghavarṣa; his head was cut off by the Eastern Cāḷukya Vijayāditya III, who played with the head of Maṅgi as a ball.[1]

The next King Mahendrādhirāja, was the greatest sovereign of the Noḷamba Pallava line and ruled in the last quarter of the IX century. He acquired the five *Mahāśabdas* (*śṛṅga*, horn, *tammaṭa*, tambour, *śaṅkha*, conch-shell, *bheri*, kettle-drum, and *jayaghaṇṭa*, gong). He "uprooted the Cōra and others of his kinsmen" and "destroyed the race of Mahābali" (Bāṇas). In his reign Śaiva and Jaina temples were built. He ruled till the end of the century.[2]

The Old Cōḷa house did not yet die out. Early in the IX century the Pāṇḍiya king gave his daughter in marriage to a Cōḷa chief. He lived at Madurā when Sundaramūrti Nāyanār, the third great Śaiva hymnist and a Cēra royal Śaiva Saint visited Madurā. The mother of Varguṇa Pāṇḍiya (acc. 862) was a Cōḷa princess.

1. E.I., iv., p. 239.
2. E.I., x, pp. 56-62.

About 850 A.D. a new Cōḷa dynasty arose; it was destined to dominate South India for three centuries and extend its influence upto the banks of the Gaṅgā and the heart of Śiam.[1] Vijayālaya, a Cōḷa chief, wrested from the Muttaraiyas the towns of Tañjāpuri (Tanjore) and Vallam and founded the new Cōḷa dynasty. He had the title *Parakēsarivarman*; this title and that of *Rājakēsarivarman* were borne alternately by the kings of this family. Āditya I succeeded him in A.D. 870 or 871. Under these two princes the Tanjore kingdom became a strong wedge between the decaying Pallava and Pāṇḍiya monarchies which had been sapping each other's strength by unceasing fights for two centuries. The Ceras, were also groaning under the pressure of the Pāṇḍiyas for a similar period and became the allies of the Cōḷas. With the help of Kōkkaṇḍam Sthāṇu Ravi, the contemporary Cēra king, Āditya I defeated Aparājita, the Pallava king, and annexed the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam[2] (the Chingleput and North Arcot Districts)) before 900 A.D. He also acquired the Koṅgu country (Salem and Coimbatore Districts), over which the Pāṇḍiyas had but a slender hold. He died in 907 A.D.

In the Pāṇḍiya country Varguṇa Mahārāja ruled upto about 815 A.D. He was succeeded by his son, Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan Śrī Vallabha *Ekavīra*, *Paracakrakōlāhala*. He "brought the whole world under his umbrella, and was well-beloved by his subjects." He invaded Ceylon; the Ceylon King Sēna I fled from his capital. The Pāṇḍiyas looted the city and then restored it to the king. The next Ceylon King Sēna II,

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1. For a detailed account of this new dynasty, see C.. ch. vi. *Ed.*

2. S.I.I, iii, pp. 418-9.

urged by a "Māyāpāṇḍiya" (pretender to the Pāṇḍiya throne) who had taken refuge with him, invaded the Madurā country, and returned to Ceylon with much booty.[1] Sēna II could not have done much harm to Śrīmāra's prestige. Śrimāra defeated the Cēras at Viḷiñam and repulsed with great loss a confederation of Gaṅgas, Pallavas, Cōḷas, Kaliṅgas, Magadhas and others at Kuḍamukku (Kumbhakōṇam). The last three names in this list are but a conventional addition. The defeated Pallava was probably Dantivarma. As a result he occupied a part of the Pallava country, whence he was turned back by Nandivarma and his son Nṛpatuṅga, who defeated him at Teḷḷāru (*c.* 840 A.D.) and the Aracit, near Kumbhakōṇam. He ruled roughly from 815-862 A.D.

He was succeeded by Varaguṇavarma, who fought the battle of Tirupuṛambiyam and lost it, having been defeated by Aparājita and Pṛthvīpati I Gaṅga (*c.* 880 A.D.) The next king was Śrī Parāntaka *alias* Vīranārāyaṇa (Sadaiyan) in whose time the Pāṇḍiya began to decline. He ruled till 900 A.D.[2]

The feudatories of the Pāṇḍiyas were the Āy chiefs in the mountainous tracts between Tinnevelly and Travancore, sometime the Adigans of the Koṅgu country and the Muttaraiyas in the earlier years of their ascendancy before they became the subordinate allies of the Pallavas.

The Cēras in this century were constantly fighting with Pāṇḍiyas. More often they were defeated than won in these fights. Early in this century or at the end of the previous century the Cēra capital was transferred on

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1. M. E. R., 1907-8, pp. 67-8; See also P. K., pp. 68-76. *Ed.*

2. See P. K., pp. 76-79. *Ed.*

account of the frequent Pāṇḍiya invasions to Koduññallūr (Cranganore), on the Malabār coast. One Cēra of note of this time was Sēramān Perumāl whom the Śaivas have included in their list of Saints on account of his excessive devotion to Śiva. The last Cēra chief of the century was Kōkkaṇḍan Sthāṇu Ravi who helped Āditya Cōḷa to extinguish Pallava sovereignty in South India.

2. Cultural activities (600 A.D. to 900 A.D.)

The official **religion** of this period too was normally that of the *Karmakāṇḍa* of the *Śrauta*, *Gṛhya* and *Dharma Sūtras*. The Brāhmaṇas, especially those who had not taken to totally secular walks of life, performed the minor Vedic *yajñas* and the fire-rites prescribed for the *Gṛhastha* (house-holder) in the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, though that was the whole of their religion. We hear in inscriptions of endowments to learned Brāhmaṇas either as a reward for their having performed *Śrauta yajñas* or to help them to perform the "five great *yajñas*" (*Pañcamahāyajñas*), obligatory on every Brāhmaṇa. Thus in one of his charters Pulakeśin II announced that his uncle, the ornament of the Sēndrakas, a workshipper of Śiva, granted to a Brāhmaṇa who had performed sacrifices the whole of a village and an allotment in another.[1] Raṇagraha, brother of Dadda IV Praśāntarāga gave two fields in 642 A.D. to the Brāhmaṇa Surya for the purpose of defraying the expenses of his sacrifices. The donee was an emigrant from Daśapura. The fields were situated in villages on the frontiers of Khāndesh and Mālwā upto which the Gurjara kingdom extended.[2]

The major, *i.e.*, royal *yajñas* were not performed in this age on the great scale in which they were celebrated

1. E.I., iii., p. 52.
2. E.I., v, p. 38.

in the previous ones; for in the IV, V and VI centuries numerous royal houses resorted to *yajñas* for the purpose of elevating their status to that of the Kṣatriya; whereas in this age, genuine Kṣatriya families, for instance the Cedis who were descended from a house famous since the Vedic period, became sovereigns. It is not true, as is held by some, on the solitary evidence of one Kṣatriya family being called Hūṇa, that the Rājputs of this age were naturalized foreigners.[1] The few cases of royal rites, which the inscriptions reveal were those performed by people who not being Kṣatriyas originally aimed at raising their social status. Thus Ādityasena of the later Gupta house of Magadha performed the *aśvamedha* and other sacrifices.[2] Pallavamalla, whose right to the throne of Kāñcī was challenged by a rival claimant and who was himself descended from a collateral branch of the family when he had established his sovereignty by force of arms, celebarted about 727 A.D. the *aśvamedha* and gave rewards to Brāhmaṇas on a large scale.[3] This seems to have been the chief *aśvamedha* of the century and probably the last great instance of the rite in India. The Pāṇḍiyas performed pettier Vedic rites, though they were newly Āryanized kings. Thus Arikēsari Māravarman performed the *Tulābhāra* and *Hiraṇyagarbha*; Rājasimha I performed many *Gōsahasras*, *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and *Tulābhāras* and gave grants to many Brāhmaṇas.

The worship of a pillar *qua* pillar and not as an adjunct to a temple continued to the VII century; for on a pillar erected long before that time at Kōsam (Kōś-

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1, This statement is highly controversial. See H.M.H.I., II, chs. i-vi; A.B.O.I., XII, pt. ii. *Ed.*

2. G.I., p. 213.

3. S.I.I., ii, p. 312.

āmbī), one which Yuan Chwang saw in that place, was inscribed as follows :—"The man who fixes his look on this very tall pillar, preserves great fortitude, when the others are adverse ; delivered from sin, he purifies his kindred and proceeds without doubt to the Indra-world."[1] It is not impossible that the author of the inscription imagined that the pillar was an old *yūpa* (sacrificial post).

Viṣṇu, Śiva, Devi, and the Sun installed in temples were the chief gods worshipped by the people. Brāhmaṇas worshipped them besides following their Vedic rites; as these latter gradually declined, the worship of one or more of these gods became the chief religious activity of Brāhmaṇas. The other castes, except some of the lowest, were mainly worshippers of one or more of the above four gods, except the Jainas who worshipped their own gods in their own temples. The records of the erection of temples during this period prove this. Thus Mahēndravarma, who started making stone temples (*Śilāgṛha*), made five temples of Viṣṇu. In Magadha Ādityasena built a temple of Viṣṇu in the third quarter of the VII century at Apsad in the Gayā district, his mother adding thereto a college of monks and his wife a tank.[2] Yaśōmatī, wife of the general of Aparājita Guhila built in the province of Mēwāḍ in 661 A.D. a temple of Viṣṇu, the enemy of Kaitabha.[3]

In the middle of the VII century were built minor Viṣṇu temples at Mahābalipura as well as Kāñcīpura and numerous others in the Cōḷa *viṣaya*. They were all hymned by Vaiṣṇava Tamil poets (*Ālvār*) at the beginning of the VIII century.

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1. E.I., xi, p. 89.
2. G.I., p. 204.
3. E.I., iv, p. 30,

In 699 A.D., Vijayāditya installed the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara at Bādāmī.[1]

Madhurakavi, minister of Varaguṇa Mahārāja, the great Pāṇḍiya king, built a stone temple (*Kaṟṟaḷi*) for Viṣṇu on the Aṇaimalai hill, six miles to the east of Madurā in 770 A.D.[2] This king also built a Viṣṇu temple at Kāñjivāyappērūr in the Koṅgu country.[3]

In the reign of Dharmapāla devout worshipper of Sugata (Buddha) *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Narayaṇavarma built a temple of Nunna Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) at Śubhasthalī (near Gauḍ, Bengāl) and the king gave four villages for the upkeep of the temple.[4]

Early in the VIII century the Viṣṇu temple at Kāñcī dedicated to Vaikuṇṭhanātha was built. Tiruvallikkēṇi (Triplicane, Madras) is referred to in the Tamil scriptures of the Vaiṣṇavas called *Nālāyirappirabandam* by the hymnists Pēyāḷvār, Tirumaḷiśai Āḷvār and Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār, the last of whom informs us that the temple there was founded by a Pallava king (Toṇḍaiyarkōn). But the characteristics of Pallava architecture disappeared from it when the temple was rebuilt in later times. Several Viṣṇu temples were built in the Pāṇḍiya and the Cēra countries the gods of which became the subjects of many Tamil hymns. Several temples were built at Kanauj in the time of Bhōja, *e.g.*, one by Guhāditya, a royal personage, another by Kadambāditya, one of Viṣṇu Garuḍāsana by the Brāhmaṇa Bhūvaka and another of

1. I.A., x, p. 60.
2. E.I., viii, p. 318.
3. I.A., xxii, p. 66.
4. E.I., iv, pp. 246-7.

Viṣṇu in the Yajñavarāha or Boar-incarnation by the same Bhūvaka.

At about the end of the VIII century Muttaraiya kings made a cave-temple of Viṣṇu at Malaiyaḍipaṭṭi and another at Tirumeyyam in the Pudukotta state. In 861 A.D., Parabala, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, founded a temple of Śauri (Viṣṇu) at Paṭhāri (in the Bhopāl agency of Central India) and erected before it a Garuḍa-crested pillar.[1] Harṣa, as he himself tells us, was a *Māheśvara*, devotee of Śiva, and Yuan Chwang says that he built at Kanauj, along with other temples, one of Śiva. Like its companion Sun temple, that of Maheśvara was built of "a blue stone of great lustre", "ornamented with various elegant sculptures". "Each of these foundations has 1000 attendants to sweep and water it; the sound of drums and of songs accompanied by music, ceases not day nor night."[2] In the time of Pulakeśin II one Harasena gave 63 *nivartanas* of land and five jack trees to the God Mahādeva at Yekkēri (Belgaum Dt.)[3] Mahendravarma of Kāñcī made several cave-temples of Śiva. His son, Narasiṁha, the greatest of the Pallava kings, carved whole rocks into Śiva temples—the so-called *Rathas* of Māmallapura (Mahābalipur on the coast south of Madras) besides several cave-temples. The monolithic temples were completed by his grandson, Parameśvara. Abhimanyu, the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Mānapura gave a small village (*grāmaka*) to a Pāśupata ascetic (*parivrājita*), called Jaṭābhāra, who was the manager of a temple of Dakṣina Śiva (? Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Śiva facing south).[4]

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1. E.I., ix, p. 250.
2. B.R.W.W., i, p. 223.
3. E.I., v, p. 7.
4. E.I., viii, p. 164.

The Pallava Rājasiṁha built the first stone structural temple in Southern India that of Kailāsanātha Svāmī still standing at Kāñcī. The Cāḷukya Vijayāditya erected at Paṭṭaḍakal the great stone temple of Śiva, under the name Vijayeśvara. The courtezan Vanāpoṭi, "the soul's darling of Vijayāditya" gave gifts to the temple of Mahākūṭa (Bijāpur Dt.)[1]. The *Mahādevi* of his son Vikramāditya II, by name Lōkamahādevī, built the temple of Lōkēśvara at Paṭṭaḍakal. Her sister, Trailokyamahādevī, another *rājñi* (queen) of Vikramāditya II and mother of Kīrtivarman II, built the stone temples of Trailōkyēśvara. A pillar was set up in the middle of these shrines in honour of an *ācārya*, Jñānaśiva, who had come from the north bank of the Gaṅgā in 754 A.D.[2] Jñānaśiva was one of the Brāhmaṇas who emigrated in a steady stream from North India, probably from the beginning of the Christian era, and spread a knowledge of the *Āgamas* in South India.

In the end of the IX eentury, Āditya Cōḷa built stone temples of Śiva replacing the older wood ones. "He is said to have built for Śiva a number of temples on either side of the river Kāvēri" from the head of the delta to its mouth, the chief of which are the ones at Tillaisthānam and Tiruvanyāṛu, about seven miles from Tanjore.

At about the end of the VII century one Pantha built in Benares a temple of Bhavānī. It "was joined with a very adhesive and bright cement, resplendent with the sound of bells, lovely, attractive.........(and decorated) with lovely flags and yak-tails". He celebrated several consecrations "of the idol at Vārāṇasī (Benares)

1. I.A., x, p. 102.
2. E.I., iii, pp. 1-3.

"famous", "worshipped from afar by passionless people, with their mind solely fixed on liberation from birth and death.........In this was a place, renouned on earth; (bathed in the white light) of the bright rays of the moon (as they fell on its) lofty turrets; charming with the gracefulness of the wives of the various inhabitants of the (beautiful and extensive) streets."[1]

The temple of the Sun which Harṣa built at Kanauj has been referred to along with his Śiva temple. A general of Ādityasena of Magadha installed at Nālandā "a standing image of the Sun, represented as a man, 2' 10" high, holding a waterlily in each hand; and with, on each side, a small standing figure, that on the right being armed with a club". It is now found in Shāhpur in the Bihār district.[2] About the same time a temple of the Sun was erected at Vasantagaḍh in the Sirōhi state.[3] About the end of the century or the beginning of the next Jīvita Gupta II of Magadha gave a village to the Sun, called Varuṇavāsin (an amalgamation of the Sun-God and the ocean-deity).[4] Jayavardhana II of the Śailavaṁśī dynasty of the Central Provinces gave a village to a temple of Āditya Bhaṭṭāraka (the Sun-God).[5] In the VIII century Kṛṣṇa I in the *Karkaṭaka Saṅkrānti* of 772 A.D. granted a village to the Bhaṭṭāraka of a temple of Āditya.[6] In the reign of Amōghavarṣa, his *Mahāsāmantādhipati Prabhūtavarṣa* Gōvindarāja of Gujarāt gave a village to a temple of the Sun under the name Jayāditya in 827 A.D.[7]

1. E.I., ix, pp. 61-2.
2. G.I., pp, 208-210.
3. A.S.W.I., 1905-6, p. 56,
4. G.I., p. 215.
5. E.I., ix, pp. 46-7.
6. E.I., xiv, p. 123.
7. I.A., v, p. 151.

Jaina and Bauddha temples were also built in this per iod, though not as abundantly as the other temples. Thus Vijayāditya built the Saṅgamēśvara (Vijayēśvara) temple of Paṭṭaḍakal. His sister Kuṅkumamahādēvī built the Jaina temple called Ānesejjeya-basadi at Lakṣmēśwar.[1] Vijayāditya also gave to Vijayadēvapaṇḍita an endowment for a shrine of Jīnabhaṭṭāraka of Mūlasaṅgha in 723 A.D. in Lakṣmēśwar.[2]

Under Amōghavarṣa's patronage Jainism of the *Digambara* variety flourished very much, in the Deccan. Many Jaina authors received much encouragement at his hands. In his son's reign one Vinayambudhi, governor of Dhavala *viṣaya*, gave three fields, each of the capacity of one thousand betel-creepers to a temple of Jina built at Mulgund (Dhārwār district) by Cīkārya, a merchant. To the same temple, headmen of gilds as well as, it is specially noteworthy, some Brāhmaṇas also, gave endowments (902 A.D.).[3]

The kings of Kapiśa, according to Yuan Chwang were Buddhists and many *saṅghārāmas* had been built in it, (relics of which have been disclosed by recent excavations). There were also some ten temples where the Devas were worshipped and naked and clothed asceties of various denominations swarmed through the country. The king held a *Mōkṣa Pariṣad* like other Hindu Rājās.[4] But elsewhere the Bauddha cult was declining. According to Yuan Chwang, Harṣa built a Buddha temple, but he adds that while Harṣa's Śiva and Sun temples were built of stone and had an army of servants attached to them, the great Baudda *Vihāra*, though of the same size

1. I.A., xviii, p. 38.
2. I.A., vii. p. 112.
3. E.I., xiii, p. 191.
4. B.R.W.W., i, p. 55.

as the other two, was a brick-built one standing on foundations of stone.[1]

Once in five years as Yuan Chwang tells us, Harṣa, like his ancestors, went on a pilgrimage to Prayāga and there "between the two confluents of the river" held a *Mokṣa Mahāpariṣad*, at which he distributed "in one day the accumulated wealth of five years. Having collected ....immense piles of wealth and jewels, on the first day he adorns in a very sumptuous way a statue of Buddha, and then offers to it the most costly jewels. Afterwards he offers his charity to the residentiary priests; afterwards to the priests (*from a distance*) who are present; afterwards to the men of distinguished talent; afterwards to the heretics who live in the place, following the ways of the world (*gṛhasthas*); and lastly, to the widows and bereaved, orphans and desolate, poor and mendicants.........He then gives away his head diadem and his jewelled necklaces.........After this the rulers of the different countries offer their jewels and robes to the king."[2] This description is the Chinese monk's pious distortion of the usual periodical pilgrimages to the *Triveṇi*, the meeting place of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and the invisible Sarasvatī and the usual charities performed on the occasion. Yuan Chwang narrates the story of a great Buddhist consecration celebrated by Harṣa towards the close of his life, but the story is involved in a mass of prejudice that it is difficult to extract from it the facts that actually took place. He winds up his story with a suggestion that certain Brāhmaṇas set fire to the building and Harṣa miraculously extinguished it and then they attempted unsuccessfully to assassinate him, all of which are absurd legends. In

1. B.R.W. W., i, p. 222.
2. B.R.W. W., i, 233.

fact the whole story as narrated by Yuan Chwang teems with *odium theologicum* and was meant for pious consumption in China. Yuan Chwang saw everything in India through spectacles more deeply tinged with Buddhistic fervour than Fa Hsien's. Hence he saw everywhere evidence of Buddha's miracles, Asoka's *stūpas* and *saṅghārāmas* and Buddhist rites. Nor could he understand the attitude of Hindus towards religious questions. Harṣa tells us that his father was a Saura, his brother a Saugata, and himself a Māheś-vara. Each person had an *iṣṭadēva*, god of individual choice, but that did not mean that they did not pay homage to other Gods, as Harṣa whose *iṣṭadēva* was Hara also worshipped Buddha. The Pāla kings of Gauḍa and the Kara kings of Oḍradēśa were, unlike Harṣa, professedly Saugatas, *i.e*, had Buddha as their *iṣṭadēva*, but in his name they gave donations to Brāh-maṇas. Amōghavarṣa, a Jaina, endowed temples of other cults, including Bauddha ones. Yuan Chwang could not understand this.

His book *Siyuki*, gives the reader the impression that the way of the Buddha was followed everywhere in India, though nearly two and a half centuries previous-ly to his time, it was already on the wane as Fa Hsien testifies. Hence Yuan Chwang's testimony ought to be taken with much more than the proverbial grain of salt. He quotes frequently from mythical " records of India " and reproduces every tale told to him and is in such a state of nervous tension as to see visions frequently. His endless descriptions of *vihāras* and *saṅghārāmas* through-out the country have made some people imagine that Buddhism was still in the ascendant in the country ; and his exaggerated accounts of Harṣa's Buddhist activities confirm the impression. But, read between the lines, his book reveals the fact that Buddhist monachism was

decaying in his time and "Dēva temples" abounded in the land as much as they did in earlier times, just as they do now. Harṣa favoured Buddha monks and himself desired to become one at the time when his sister was in trouble. This does not mean that in his time the people were not more devoted to the Śiva or Viṣṇu or Śakti cults. The true position is known when we study the Sanskrit literature and epigraphs of the period. Nor were the many cults of India warring with each other at the time, notwithstanding the fact that much polemical literature was composed. The people at large were not affected by literary controversies of the learned.

The religion of the learned classes in this period can best be understood from a consideration of the literary activity of the age. The many books on the Mīmāṁsa and the Bauddha cults composed in this period show that there was a great intellectual struggle between the two. Both sets of books display the expiring throes of sacrificial Vedism and monastic Buddhism. Kumārila (700 A.D.) succeeded in reviving respect for the authority of the Vedas which the Jainas and the Bauddhas had been ineffectually trying to destroy for nearly a thousand years, and in staying the rush for *sanyāsa* and thus put a stop to the spread of Buddhist asceticism; but his literary activity could not revive the performance of the complicated Vedic rites. The *post mortem* sensuous enjoyment, which these rites promised, no more attracted the people whose minds had been saturated with the desire for *mōkṣa* or the release from the hankering for sensuous pleasure. Śaṅkarācārya a century after Kumārila, effectively killed sacrificial Vedism, the *karma kāṇḍa* practices; he it is true, respected the authority of that part of the Veda and advocated the use of Vedic sacrifices; but he also stimulated the desire for *sanyāsa* and founded *Maṭhas* and provided his splendid *Advaita darśana* for

the unworldly minded; he also gave the quietus to the Buddhist doctrines and the rites which had grown round them, first by opposing his philosophy of temporary positivism to the negativism of the Bauddhas, and secondly systematizing the *Āgama* rites of worship which appealed to the common man and utilizing in the *Śākta* form of it the *Tāntrika* rites of the Buddhists. He thus blended into a not very self-contradictory whole the *Āgamika* (now claimed to be *Vaidika*) rites, the rites of the worship of the Sun, of Gaṇapati, and of Subrahmaṇya, the *Śākta* rites of the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas, what remained, of the *Vaidika* house-rites, the realistic path of devotion either to Śiva or Vāsudēva, the idealistic path of knowledge of the Upaniṣads, the contempt of the Buddhist for the worldly life and the desire of the common man for the life of the house-holder. While advocating in different books these different paths, he yet reserved his immense dialectical skill, his clear metaphysical thinking and his merciless logic to the supreme path he specially advocated for those who could rise above the joys of worldly life—that of the *Advaita Vedānti.* Is it any wonder that appealing as he did to all tastes and to all human temperaments, he became the *jagadguru* for all time? But the *Advaita darśana* can appeal only to the intellectually *élité*, and the ordinary people have continued to be devotees of Viṣṇu and Śiva, for this alone gives them rich emotional experience. Worship of the great Kāḷī is prevalent in certain provinces, notably Bengāl, which has inherited it from Buddhist days. In Mahārāṣṭra and provinces to the south of it, Gaṇapati has many devotees and in the Tamil country Subrahmaṇya is the supreme object of the devotion of some. The masses continue to worship the spirits and totems, coming down from the stone age which the philosophizing man of the higher castes patronizingly regards as inferior aspects of his supreme God or Goddess.

The great religious revolution in Tamil India which began in the sixth century reached permanent literary expression in Tamil in the seventh. Appār, otherwise called Tirunāvukkarasu, of Cuddalore, was the first to visit temple after temple dedicated to Śiva and sing songs in praise of the deity as manifested in the idols of such temples. It is said that Mahendravikrama the Pallava first persecuted him to oblige his Jaina subjects, but later himself became the saint's desciple. A younger contemporary of his was Ñānasambanda Svāmi, the boy poet. The former was a Veḷḷāḷa, the latter a Brāhmaṇa. Tiruñānasambanda Svāmi went over to Madurā when Ninṛa Śīr Neḍu Māran was ruling there. He was responsible for the rapid spread of the Śiva cult and the gradual disappearance of that of the Jainas. Religious exaltation seized hold of other than poets. Parañjōdi, the general of Narasiṁhavarma Pallava, who captured and destroyed Bādāmī, turned a Śaiva devotee; many others besides did so. The Vaiṣṇava Tamil-hymnists of the VII century were Pēyāḷvār, Pūdattāḷvār, Poygaiāḷvār, all belonging to the Kāñcī district and Tirumalisai Āḷvār of the Cuddalore district. To the next century belong Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār, Tiruppāṇāḷvār, Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi, all of Cōḷanāḍu, and Kulasēgara Āḷvār (a Cēra King). The IX century produced Periyāḷvār, his daughter Āṇḍāl, Nammāḷvār and Madhura kavi of the Pāṇḍiya country. All the twelve have left behind them Tamil Vaiṣṇava hymns. The third, and last hymnist among the sixtythree Śaiva saints was Sundara of the early years of the IX century. The hymns of Appār, Ñānasambanda and Sundara form the collection called *Tevāram*. The next Tamil Śaiva hyminst of the end of the IX century was Māṇikkavāśaga of the Madurā district.

All these Tamil poets introduced a note of intolerance new to India. The Tamil hymns in praise of

Śiva attempted to pull down the status of Viṣṇu and *vice versa* and both spoke in execration of the Jainas and the Bauddhas, but this was peculiar to South India, where sectarian rancour had also become a potent cause of fission of one caste into many. Thence Śiva and Viṣṇu gradually parted company in temples. In the rest of India Śiva and Viṣṇu were worshipped as chief Gods without this sectarian rancour. The Tamil poets, like the authors of much other Sanskrit religious literature of the period emphasized the need for *sanyāsa*, as a preliminary to *mōkṣa*. The sense of the utter vanity of human wishes appears already strongly expressed in inscriptions. Thus the wife of Aparājita's chosen leader of troops, *Mahārāja* Varāhasiṁha, by name Yaśomati, gave an endowment to a temple, because of "the vanity of fortune, youth and wealth, in order to cross the troubled sea of this worldly existence."[1] This is a case of a very early occurrence of the tone of pessimism in a Rājpūt inscription, which increased in intensity as the centuries rolled on. This love of *sanyāsa* that permanent feature of Indian life, attracted the notice of the Arab writers. Says Sulaimān, "In India there are persons who, in accordance with their profession, wander in the woods and mountains, and rarely communicate with the rest of mankind. Sometimes they have nothing to eat but herbs and the fruits of the forest. ....Some of them (the *Digambaras*) go about naked. Others stand naked with the face turned to the sun, having nothing on but a panther's skin. In my travels I saw a man in the position I have described; sixteen years afterwards I returned to that country and found him in the same posture. What astonished me was that he was not melted by the heat of the sun."[1] Abu Zaid reports that "in the states of the Balhara, and in other provinces

1. E.I., iv. p. 30.

of India, one may see men burn themselves on a pile."[2] This probably refers to a form of *sallekhana* of the Jainas.

The Indian belief in metempsychosis struck the Arabs forcibly. Abu Zaid attributes to it the self-immolation in fire already referred to. He adds that "when a person, either woman or man, becomes old, and the senses are enfeebled, he begs some one of his family to throw him into fire or to drown him in the water; so firmly are the Indians persuaded that they shall return to (life upon) the earth. In India they burn the dead."[3]

Islām started in Sindh in this period. As it was a militant religion it acquired converts from the Hindu population. Numerous mosques were built, but as the Arabs, unlike the Turks, were not persecutors, Hindu temples also flourished in the provinces of Multān and Mansura. Christian and Jewish communities existed in the Malabār coast and the former, possibly, near Mylapore, Madras.

Literature was liberally patronized by the kings of this period all through the land. Mahendravikrama of Kāñcī was himself a poet. His Sanskrit inscriptions in the upper cave at Trichinopoly are clever little poems. He composed also a delightful 'comedy of manners' called *Mattavilāsa prahasana*, in which the evil lives led by monks of various sects are mercilessly exposed. Daṇḍin and Bhāravi resided for some time in his court. The former wrote the *Daśakumāra carita*, a prose romance, in which the style of the *kāvya* is adapted to prose narrative. Another tale, ascribed to Daṇḍin but not exactly

1. E.H.I., i, p. 6.
2. *Ib.*, p, 9.
3. *Ib.*, i, pp. 9-10.

in his style, is the *Avantisundari Katha*. Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* is a standard text-book on poetics, which has of course absorbed pre-existing works; among other points he refers to the distinction between the *Vaidarbha* or Southern and *Gauḍa* or Northern Sanskrit style. Bhāravi wrote the famous drama, the *Kirātārjunīya*. Much more brilliant was Harṣa's court in respect of literary luminaries. He himself was a great poet and three dramas, *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā*, and *Nāgānanda* were composed by him. Bāṇa was the greatest of Harṣa's protégés. *Harṣa Carita* is a biography of his patron and *Kādambari*, a romance, both unfinished and both written in a specially polished, but highly artificial prose *kāvya* style. The latter was completed by his son Bhūṣaṇa. Bāṇa's *Caṇḍiśataka* is a lyric in praise of the world-mother and is a rival of the (*Sūrya*) *Śataka* of his father-in-law, Mayūra. The drama *Pārvatipariṇaya* is attributed to Bāṇa, though some would make it the work of Vāmana. A contemporary of Bāṇa was Mātaṅga Divākara, probably the same person as the Jaina writer Mānatuṅga, author of *Bhakti Mārga stōtra*.

The most quoted poet of the VII century is Bhartṛhari, author of three *Śatakas*. He is said to have oscillated seven times between the *gṛhastha* and the *sanyāsa*, and, on this flimsy ground, claimed as one of them by the Buddhists, though he was a thorough going Śaiva. His rival in lyric poetry was Amaru, also belonging to this time, author of an elegant *Śataka* on love. Bhavabhūti and Vākpati were patronized by Yaśovarma of Kanauj. The former was a Vidarbha Brāhmaṇa and author of *Mālatimādhava*, *Mahāvira-carita* and *Uttararāma-carita*, all three being dramas, inferior, if at all, only to Kālidāsa's plays. In imaginative power he is the greatest of Sanskrit poets. Vākpati wrote in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākrit the historical romance *Gauḍavaho*,

to celebrate Yaśovarma's defeat of a Gauḍa prince. Yaśovarma, himself, was a dramatist, being the author of *Rāmābhyudaya*, quoted in later works. Other dramatists of the age were Anaṅgaharṣa author of *Tāpasavatsarājacarita*, and Māyurāja, of *Udāttarāghava*, the latter known only by references. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, one of the Brāhmaṇas imported into Gauḍa by Ādisūra wrote the powerful play *Vēṇīsaṁhāra*. Another dramatist of this age was Murāri, author of *Anargharāghava*. Possibly before these poets Kumāradāsa wrote *Jānakīharaṇa* and Māgha his splendid *Śiśupālavadha*. Buddhasvāmi's *Ślōka Sangraha*, epitome of the story of the *Bṛhatkathā* belongs to this time. Some writers of the *praśastis* in inscriptions, were poets of great merit. The best *praśasti* of the VII century is that about the 'stone mansion of Jinendra' built by Ravikīrti who was also the author of the *praśasti*. The poet compares himself to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi and imitates the style of the former and borrows many of his images. Bhūmaka wrote the *Rāvaṇārjunīya*, which deals with the fight between Kārttavīrya and Rāvaṇa, and imitates Bhaṭṭi's Rāvaṇavadha in composing the poem so as to illustrate the rules of grammar. Jaina authors began to write Purāṇas in Sanskrit. Ravisena's *Padmapurāṇa* is ascribed to 660 A.D. Bhartṛhari's principal work, is the *Vākyapadiya*, the last independent work on the philosophy of grammar. The *Kāśikāvṛtti*, a commentary on Pāṇini, distinguished for its clearness, was composed by Vāmana. A comment on it was written by Jinēndrabuddhi, called *Nyāsa*, about the end of the VII century. Very early in this century a group of scholars wrote *Bhāṣyas* on the different Vedas. Of them Skandasvāmi seems to have been the director. He commented on the earlier portions of the *Ṛgveda*. His colleagues, for the subsequent portions were Nārāyaṇa and Udgītha. Harisvāmi, the commentator of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* expressly says that Skandasvāmi was his *guru* and his patron was Vikramā-

ditya, apparently the son of Śīlāditya of Molapo mentioned by Yuan Chwang; the date of his commentary is 638 A.D. (Kali era 3,740). Thus the Mālwā tradition of scholarship was continuing unbroken. In the beginning of this period lived Prabhākara who commented on Śabarasvāmi's *Mīmāṁsā Bhāṣya* and founded the *Gurumata* school of *Mīmāṁsā*. The rival *Bhaṭṭa* school was founded at the end of the century by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, author of *Ślōkavārttikā*, *Tantravārttikā* and *Tuptīka*. Gauḍapāda wrote his *Kārikā* which is the foundation of the doctrine of Illusion (*māyāvāda*), incorporated in the *Advaita Vedānta*. Dharmakīrti wrote the *Nyāyabindu*, and Udyōtkara Bharadvāja, the *Nyāyavārttikā*.

Brahmagupta (born in Multān 598 A.D.) wrote in 628 A.D. the *Sphuṭa Siddhānta*, probably based on *Viṣṇudharmōttara*[1]. His book is a treatise on the whole of mathematics as then developed and deals with advanced problems. In 665 A.D. he wrote the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*, a practical *vade mecum* of astrological calculations (*karaṇa*). A later writer was Lalla author of *Śiṣyādhivrddhitantra*. Vāgbhaṭa wrote the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṅgraha*; another person of the same name, *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṁhitā*. Bhāmaha wrote the *Kāvyālaṅkāra* on poetics about the end of the century. This was followed by Vāmana's book of the same name. The medical writer, Mādhavakara, wrote the *Rugviniccaya*. Dāmodaragupta, minister of Jayāpīḍa of Kāśmīr, wrote a guide to harlots, *Kuṭṭanimata*. The *Śivasūtra* of Viṣṇugupta, the first text book of Kāśmīri Śaivism (called *the Īśvarapratyabhijñā darśanam*) also belongs to this period. Haribhadra, the Jaina, wrote *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya*, *Lōkatattvanirṇaya*, *Dharmabindu* and several other works.

1. But Prof. Winternitz suspects that the *Viṣṇudharmōttara* is indebted to the *Sphuṭa-Siddhānta* for certain passages. See his H.I.L., vol. 1, p. 580. *Ed.*

Maṇḍana Miśra was the great writer on *Mīmāṁsā* in the VIII century. His chief works are *Vidhivivēka* and *Mīmāṁsānukramaṇi*. But far and away the greatest intellectual giant of the age was a Brāhmaṇa of Kēraḷa, Śaṅkarācārya. His commentaries (*Bhāṣya*) on the early *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavadgītā* and above all the *Vēdānta Sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, establish with unsurpassable dialectical skill and in a brilliantly flowing prose style the doctrines of the unity of Real Being and the temporary validity of phenomenal experience. Many of his lyrics are lovely specimens of devotional songs and a few, little gems of didactic poetry intended to teach the fundamental teachings of the *Advaita Vedānta*. His pupils Sureśvara (said to be the same person as Maṇḍana Miśra) and Śarvajñātmā wrote respectively the *Mānasōllāsa* and *Sankṣēpa śārīraka*, short text-books of the *advaita* doctrine. In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court flourished the Jaina writers Sāmantabhadra, author of *Āptamīmāṁsa*, an exposition of Jainism and criticism of other schools, Akaḷaṅka, of *Aṣṭaśati*, Vidyānanda, of *Aṣṭasahasrī*, both commentaries of Sāmantabhadra's work, Māṇikyanandī, author of *Parī, kṣāmukha*, and his commentator, Prabhācandra.

The outstanding figure in technical literature in the IX century was Vācaspati Miśra. He wrote a comment *Nyāyakaṇika* on Maṇḍana Miśra's *Vidhivivēka*, and also *Tattvabindu*, an exposition of Maṇḍana Miśra's views. He expounded Saṅkara's *Advaita Vedānta* in his *Bhāmatī*, which is invaluable for its knowledge of Buddhist views, *inter alia*. He also wrote a comment on the *Nyāyavārttika*, called *Nyāyavārttika tātparyaṭīka*. Another work of his is the *Sāṅkhyatattva-kaumudi*, an exposition of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa's teachings. He further commented on the *Vyāsabhāsya* of the Yōga Sutras of Patañjali. Vācaspati Miśra was the most encyclopaedic

scholar of the IX century;[1] but his special credit lies in the fact that he expounds the views of several diametrically opposed schools of thought with absolute impartiality. Books on the Śaiva cult were written in Kāśmīr, the chief being Kallaṭa's *Spandakārikā*, Somānanda's *Śivadṛṣṭi* and Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñāsutra*. One Vaiṣṇava Āgama book at least, the *Īśvara Samhitā*, belongs to this age. The Bauddha *stōtra* book, Śākyamitra's *Pañcakrama*, was one of the last books of dying Buddhism. A *Sarvadarśana siddhānta saṅgraha*, probably of this time is attributed to the great Śaṅkara, though written in an inferior style. Vṛnda wrote a medical work called *Siddhiyōga*. The medical dictionary, *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* belongs to this epoch. Rudra wrote a *Kāvyālānkāra* and Ānandavarddhana (*c.* 850 A.D.) his *Dhvanyālōka* on the *Dhvani* doctrine. Jinasena, the author of the (Jaina) *Harivaṁśa*, continued to write in the IX century. He was the teacher of Amōghavarṣa and during his reign he wrote the *Pārśvābhyudaya*. His pupil Guṇabhadra completed the *Ādi Purāṇa* begun by his master, besides writing an *Uttarapurāṇa*. Another author patronized by Amōghavarṣa was Mahāvīrācārya who wrote a mathematical treatise, *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha*. Śākaṭāyana's *Vyākaraṇa* also belongs to Amōghavarṣa's court. Rājaśēkhara was the great dramatist of the age. He lived at the end of the century and wrote the Sanskrit dramas *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, *Bālabhārata*, *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* besides the *Karpūramañjari* in Prākrit. The two latter abound in comic situations. He also wrote on poetics the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, which has an interesting geographical chapter. The *Hanumān nāṭaka* probably also belongs to this century.

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1. Weber places him in the X, and Macdonell in the XII century A.D. See H. I. L., p. 246; H. S. L., p. 393. *Ed.*

In Tamil, a new form of devotional literature was born in about 600 A.D. This was due to the inspiration of Sanskrit and gave birth to decades sung on some form of Śiva or Viṣṇu enshrined in temples. The three Śaiva poets, authors of the *Tēvāram*, and the twelve Vaiṣṇava poets, authors of the *Nalāyirappirabandam* have already been mentioned.

In the VII century or so, Buddhistic romance, called *Maṇimēkalai*, in which the logical doctrines of Diṅnāga and later writers were embodied, was composed by Sāttan, possibly to prop up the dying Buddhism of that part of the country.

In the VIII century the *Bṛhatkathā* was adapted as *Peruṅgadai*, possibly based on a Sanskrit translation. About the end of the century was probably written by Tiruttakkadēvanār, a great epic poet, the Jaina romance, *Śivagasindāmaṇi*, the Jaina rival of the Bauddha *Maṇimēkalai*. In the IX, perhaps, were composed two other Jaina epics, *Vaḷayāpati* and *Kuṇḍalakēśi* (mss. of which, have not been found), which along with *Śilappadigāram*, *Maṇimēkalai*, and *Śivagasindāmaṇi*, constitute the 'five great Tamil Kāvyas.' Another Jaina epic belongs to this age, the *Nilamada purāṇam*, not yet available in print.

In this age, whatever escaped the ravages of time of the earliest Tamil poetry were collected in three groups of anthologies, the *Eṭṭuttogai*, which contains the earliest odes, the *Pattuppāṭṭu* which contains the historical poems, of the IV to VI centuries, and the *Padinenkīḻkkaṇakku* 18 poems, mostly didactic poetry. The person that collected them was probably Perundēvanār who sang the story of the *Mahābhārata* in Tamil. The *Nandikkalambagam* was sung about Nandivarma, the victor of Teḷḷāṟu; Māṇikkavācagar sang lovely devotional songs

in honour of Śiva, called *Tiruvācagam*, rivalling the *Tēvāram* in popularity, and a few minor poets sang other Śaiva songs, and all these have been included in the Śaiva canon of devotional scriptures, called *Tirumurai*.

A new species of poem, called *Kōvai* was evolved about this time. It consisted in a series of stanzas depicting the various situations in the course of love, artificially analysed and defined by rhetoricians. A very early poem of this class is the *Pāṇḍikkovai*, embodied in the commentaries on a very early Tamil grammar of love-poetry, call *Iraiyanār Agapporuḷ*. This *Kovai* has as hero a Pāṇḍiya king of the VIII or IX century. In the later Vaiṣṇava hymns love-poetry was harnessed to devotional purposes by treating the devotee as a maiden and the Lord as her lover. Probably this began in Sanskrit and called *Nāyakanāyikābhāva* and then copied by Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār. Māṇikkavāśagar wrote a *Tirukkōvai*, adopting the style of *Kōvais* and the idea of treating the devotee as a love-sick maiden.

Kannaḍa literature was born in this age, but none of the poems of the period have survived. Kannaḍa authors of Sanskrit books are also mentioned. Thus Vṛddharāja Koṅgaṇi is said to have been an early Kannaḍa author, having composed the *Śabdāvatāra*, a Sanskrit version of the *Bṛhatkathā* and a commentary on the XV *sarga* of Bhārāvi's *Kirātārjunīya*, none of which have been recovered[1].

That **education** was widespread is proved by the fact that so much literature, especially polemical, was

1. Evidence of the existence of Telugu poetry in the middle of the IX century is furnished by the Addanki Stone Inscription of Paṇḍaranga. See E.I., XIX, pp. 271 ff. *Ed*.

produced. The house of each Brāhmaṇa scholar was a college and a hostel combined, where the teacher and the pupil lived together in intimate contact with each other. Temples were also centres of education both for youths and the adult population. For the benefit of the latter, male and female, high and low, the *Purāṇas* and the *Itihāsas* were expounded during nights. Parameśvara (I) Pallava of *Kāñci* gave the village of Parameśvaramaṅgalam, divided into 25 parts, three to be enjoyed by 2 Brāhmaṇas, priests of the Śiva temple of Kūram, 20 by each of 20 Brāhmaṇas, one for providing water and fire at the *maṇḍagam* (*maṇṭapa*) of the village, and the last for reciting the *Pāradam* (*Mahābhārata*) in the same *maṇḍagam*. The Sanskrit part of the grant is composed in a gorgeous poem full of the strange conceits which became the chief characteristic of the latest development of the artificial *kāvya*.[1]

The distribution of fire and water mentioned above means the giving of water to the thirsty and allowing the people to light the domestic fire from a fire kept perpetually burning in the temple, an arrangement necessary before the invention of matches. It was also a potent means of controlling the behaviour of people. When any one was ostracised from society, the refusal to him of "fire and water" was the emblem of excommunication.

The sacred epics were expounded chiefly for the benefit of "women and Śūdras", and it was done in the actual spoken languages of the country, and this led to their development. *Mahārāṣṭri*, *Hindi*, *Gujarāti*, *Telugu* and *Kanarese*, the languages spoken where the empires of

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1. S.I.I., i, pp. 148-155.

this period flourished, thus gradually became fit to be vehicles of knowledge; and literature in these tongues, arose, first in the form of popular ballads and later of translations or rather adaptations of narratives from Sanskrit. Tamil had for more than a millennium before this period developed a literary dialect, but was largely enriched by an accession of Sanskrit words, which enabled it to become the vehicle of technical literature, scientific and philosophical.

Great Brāhmaṇa scholars abounded in the land. Poets and expounders of secular *Dharma* (civil and criminal law) resided in the courts of kings or feudatory chiefs, where their services were frequently in requisition; but the bulk of scholars lived in villages, for the ideal *Dharma* of the Brāhmaṇas could best be pursued far from large cities. To enable these Brāhmaṇas to live their life of plain living and high thinking and to spread high scholarship, kings gave them, generally on ceremonial occasions, gifts of villages and parts of villages, rent-free. Thus Pulakeśīn II gave a village to a Brāhmaṇa in 612 A.D. on the occasion of a solar eclipse,[1] probably before he started on his *digvijaya*. His brother, Viṣṇuvardhana Viṣamasiddhi when he resided in Piṣṭapura and was a dependent of Pulakesīn II gave lands to 40 Brāhmaṇas.[2] The Valabhī kings were great patrons of learning as befitted their position as ancient Kṣatriyas. In 641 A.D. Dhruvasēna II granted lands to Dattasvāmi, Trivēdī of Daśapura, of Parāśara *gotra* and Mādhyandina-Vājasanēya *śākhā*, son of Budhasvāmi, and to Kumārasvāmi, Catur-

1. I.A., vi, p. 73.

2. E.I., ix. p. 317.

vēdī of Agastikāgrahāra also son of Budhasvāmi.[1] These were *svāmis*, *i.e.* Vedic scholars and teachers of *mīmāṁsā* from Mālwā. Śīlāditya II in 671 A.D. gave to Bhaṭṭi and Iśvara, two Caturvēdī Brāhmaṇa brothers a pond and three pieces of land in Surāṣṭra (Sōrath).[2] Śryāśraya Śīlāditya, *Yuvarāja* of Jayasiṁha Cāḷukya ruler of Gujarāt gave the village of Āsaṭṭi-grāma to the *Adhvaryu* Bhōgikasvāmī, descendant of a line of Yajur Veda scholars of Nausāri (in Barodā state),[3] in 671 A.D. Three other similar grants of this short-lived family have been found and published. *Mahārāja* Sarvalōkāśraya Vijayasiddhi (Maṅgiyuvarāja), "the possessor of the mighty dignity of *Mahārāja*" (among the Eastern Cāḷukyas of the VII century the title had not degenerated into that of a feudatory chief) informed the villagers of Nutulaparru in Kammarāṣṭra, and all officers (*naiyōgika* and *vallabhas*) who had gone to that district that he had granted that village to six Brāhmaṇas, inhabitants (*vāstavya*, Tel. *bhoya*) of six villages.[4] In the VII century *Mahāsāmanta* Samudrasena gave a village in the Kāṅgrā Dt. in the Pañjāb to a body of Brāhmaṇa scholars of the Atharva Veda for the purposes of the God Tripurāntaka, built by his mother Mihiralakṣmī.[5] Śubhakaradeva of Orissa, a *parama saugata*, gave two villages to a hundred Brāhmaṇas.[6] Kīrtivarman II in 757 A.D. donated some villages to a student of the Ṛg and Yajur Vedas.[7] During the very short reign of Gōvinda II, his brother's son, Karkarāja,

1. E.I., viii, pp. 194-5.
2. E.I., iv, p. 74.
3. E.I., viii, p. 230.
4. I.A., xx, p. 105.
5. G.I., p. 290.
6. E.I., xv, p. 2.
7. E.I., v, p. 201.

ruler of the *viṣaya* of Nāsik gave a village (779 A.D.) to a Brāhmaṇa who was a master of all Sanskrit lore.[1] Gōvinda III in 794 A.D. bathed in the Gōdāvarī during a solar eclipse and gave a village to seven Brāhmaṇas of various schools for keeping up the five great sacrifices in which was included the study of the Vedas, *etc.*[2] In 812 A.D., during his reign, a village was given to 41 Brāhmaṇas in Gujarāt, then under the rule of his nephew.[3] Such multiple donations became frequent as the centuries passed. A little later in the IX century Narendramṛgarāja on the occasion of a lunar eclipse gave a village to twenty-four Brāhmaṇas, who were engaged in the study of the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas.*[4] He also gave a field during a solar eclipse to a student of the Taittirīya Veda.[5] His grandson Vijayāditya III, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, gave a village to a Vedic scholar because, " when on the field of battle, strewn with horses, soldiers and infuriated elephants that were struck down by various weapons (the king) had slain Maṅgi.........he was well pleased with the marvellous advice of this best one of the twice-born."[6] Incidentally this proves that Brāhmaṇa scholars accompanied kings to the battle-field. Nṛpatuṅga at the request of his minister gave 3 villages to a *Vidyāsthāna* (college) at Bāhūr (near Pondichery).[7]

After all the grants above referred to are only some of the published ones and these latter are only those accidentally recovered out of the very many issued in the

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1. E.I., viii, p. 183.
2. E.I., iii, p. 105.
3. E.I., iii, p. 58.
4. S.I. I., i, p. 35.
5. E.I., v, p. 121.
6. E.I., v, p. 126.
7. E.I., iv, p. 181.

period. Yuan Chwang speaking of the education of the Brāhmaṇas says:—They study the four *Veda Śāstras*. The first relates to the preservation of life and the regulation of the natural condition. The second relates to the rules of sacrifice and prayer. The third relates to decorum, casting of lots, military affairs, and army regulations. The fourth relates to various branches of science, incantations, medicine. With all his Sanskrit studies and though he took the name of Dharmatrāta, Yuan Chwang's account of Brāhmaṇa studies is a very poor performance. "The Brāhmaṇa teachers", he says, "have closely studied the deep and secret principles they (*i.e.* the *Śāstras*) contain, and penetrated to their remotest meaning. They then explain their general sense, and guide their pupils in understanding the words which are difficult. They urge them on and skilfully conduct them. They add lustre to their poor knowledge, and stimulate the desponding. If they find that their pupils are satisfied with their acquirements, and so wish to escape to attend to their worldly duties, then they use means to keep them in their power. When they have finished their education, and have attained thirty years of age then their character is formed and their knowledge ripe. When they have secured an occupation, they first of all thank their master for his attention. There are some, deeply versed in antiquity, who devote themselves to elegant studies, and live apart from the world, and retain the simplicity of their character. They rise above mundane presents, and as insensible to renown as to the contempt of the world. Their name having spread afar, the rulers appreciate them highly, but are unable to draw them to the court. The chief of the country honours them on account of their (*mental*) gifts and the people exalt their fame and render them universal homage."[1]

1. B.R.W.W., i, pp. 79-80.

Bauddha monasteries were the centres of education of the lower as well as higher grades. Buddhist *saṅghas* existed throughout the country. Yuan Chwang among others mentions those at Kāñcī and Dhānyakaṭaka, besides innumerable ones in Northern India. But they declined gradually; hence grants to them are few and far between. The last Buddhist endowments we hear of in the Deccan are the gifts of coins (*drammas*) to the *saṅgha* at Kṛṣṇagiri (Kaṇhēri) for repairs, clothes and books in 853 and 877 A.D.[1]

The rise of the Pālas, who called themselves *saugatas*, led to the building of new Buddhist monasteries. Gōpāla and his successors were Buddhists; but it must be understood that Buddhism in India in the VIII century neither meant the ethics taught by its founder or the subtle philosophy evolved by the great Buddhist writers, but meant *Tāntrika* worship of goddesses like Tārā. With slight alterations of names there is but little difference, between the Buddhism of the Pālas and the *Śākta* of modern Bengāl. Gōpāla built the monastery of Uddaṇḍapura (*i.e.* the modern town of Bihār); Dharmapāla built the monastery of Vikramaśila on low hill near the Gaṅgā. The open place in front of it could hold 8,000 persons, and the building was copied by the Tibetans as a model. It had 4 colleges and 108 teachers. Vīradeva, a Brāhmaṇa of Uttarāpatha after studying the Vedas and the *Śāstras*, went to the Kaniṣka *Vihāra* and became a Bauddha monk. He then visited the diamond-throne (*Vajrāsana*) at Mahābōdhi (Bōdh-Gayā), for which he built an edifice. He then went to the court of Devapāla, who patronized him. He afterwards became the head of the Nālandā monastery.[2]

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1. I.A., xiii, p. 135-136.
2. I.A., xvii, p. 309.

The most important Buddhist centre of learning in this peried was Nālandā. It was so famous that "some persons usurp the name (*of Nālanda students*) and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence."[1] Itsing gives a detailed account of the courses of study in Nālandā. At first Pāṇīni's *Sūtras* and other grammatical works, chiefly the *Kāśikā vṛtti* were mastered. They then learnt composition in prose and verse; and then *Hētuvidyā* (logic) and *Abhidharmakośa* (metaphysic). They then took part in debates. The higher course consisted in the *cūrṇi* (Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*), Bhartṛhari *Śāstra* (a commentary on the Cūrṇi), *Vākya*, and *Vinaya*.[2]

In the Jaina monasteries Jaina pupils were given a thorough course of instruction; we find that the Jainas in this period produced polemincal literature equal in standard and bulk to that of the Brāhmaṇas and the Bauddhas. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were their great patrons.[3]

The Gaṅgas, too, were patrons of the Jainas. Rājmalla I, great-grandson of Śivamāra "took posssesion of" a hill near Arcot and built thereon a Jaina monastery (*vasati*). This hill belonged to the Jainas for a long time.[4] A Jaina teacher Ajjanandi is mentioned in inscriptions on the hill.

Maṭhas (colleges of ascetics) were also centres of education. These *maṭhas* were attached to temples, which were in some cases managed by resident ascetics, as is referred to in some of the grants to temples already quoted. A few more may be cited here. The mother

1. B.R.W.W., ii, p. 170.
2. I.R..B.R., pp. 169, p. (condensed).
3. See R.T.T., pp. 310-314. *Ed.*
4. E.I., iv, p. 141. See also G. T., pp. 204-205. *Ed.*

of Ādityasena, the king of Magadha in the latter half of the VII century built a *maṭha* and attached it to the Viṣṇu temple of Apsad.[1] But in this period temples were managed generally by local *Mahājanas*, committees of Brāhmaṇas, *pancāyats* of which others than Brāhmaṇas were members, or similar institutions. To these temples were attached village schools for elementary education.

Libraries were found in every monastery and royal court and the houses of scholars. Each pupil had to copy his text-books for his studies and this led to a large multiplication of books.

The education of princes in this period, as in others earlier or later, is vividly portrayed in Bāṇa's account of Candrāpīḍa's education in the *Kādambari*. "Tārāpīḍa had built for him a palace of learning outside city, stretching half a league along the Siprā river, surrounded by a wall of white bricks like the circle of peaks of a snow-mountain, girt with a great moat running along the walls, guarded by very strong gates, having one door kept open for ingress, with stables for horses and palanquins close by, and a gymnasium constructed beneath—a fit place for immortals. He took infinite pains in gathering there teachers of every science, and having placed the boy there, like a young lion in a cage for-bidding all egress, surrounding him with a suite composed mainly of the sons of his teachers, removing every allurement to the sports of boyhood, and keeping his mind free from distraction, on an auspicious day he entrusted him together with Vaiśampāyana, to masters, that they might acquire all knowledge. Every day when he rose, the king, with Vilāsavatī and a small retinue, went to watch him, and Candrāpīḍa, undisturbed in mind,

1. G.I., p. 204.

and kept to his work by the king, quickly grasped all the sciences taught him by the teachers, whose efforts were quickened by his great powers, as they brought to light his natural abilities; the whose range of arts assembled in his mind as in a pure jewelled mirror. He gained the highest skill in word (*pad*), sentence (*vākya*) proof (*pramāṇa*), law (*dharmaśāstra*) and royal policy (*rājanīti*); in gymnastics (*vyāyāmavidyā*); in all kinds of weapons (*āyudha*), such as the bow (*cāpa*), quoit (*cakra*), shield (*carma*), scimitar (*kṛpāṇa*), dart (*śakti*), mace (*tōmara*), battle-axe (*paraśu*) and club (*gadā*); in driving (*ratha-caryā*) and elephant-riding (*gajapṛṣṭa*); in musical instruments (*vādya*), such as the lute (*vīṇā*), fife (*vēṇu*), drum (*muraja*), cymbal (*kāṁsyatāḷa*), and pipe (*darduraputa*); in the laws of dancing (*nṛttaśāstra*) laid down by Bharata and others, and the science of music (*gāndharvavēda*), such as that of Nārada; in the management of elephants (*hastiśikṣā*), the knowledge of horse's age (*turaga-vayōjñāna*), and the marks of men (*pusuṣalakṣaṇa*); in painting (*citrakarmā*), leaf-cutting (*patracchēdya*), the use of books (*pustakavyāpāra*), and writing (*lēkhyakarmā*); in all the arts of gambling (*dyūtakalā*), knowledge of the cries of birds (*śakunirutajñāna*), and astronomy (astrology, *grahagaṇita*); in testing of jewels (*ratnaparīkṣā*), carpentry (wood-carving, *dārukarmā*), the working of ivory (ivory-carving, *dantávyāpāra*); in architecture (*vāstuvidyā*), physics (*āyurvēda*), mechanics (*yantraprayōga*), antidotes (to poisons, *viṣāpaharaṇa*), mining (*suraṅgōpabhēda*), crossing of rivers (sailing boats, *taraṇa*), leaping and jumping (*laṅghana*, *plutiṣvārōhaṇa* ?), and sleight of hand (*indrajāla*); in stories (*kathā*), dramas (*nāṭaka*), romances (*ākhyāyikā*), poems (*kāvya*); in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Itihāsas*, and the *Rāmāyaṇa*; in all kinds of writing (scripts, *lipis*), all foreign languages (vernaculars, *dēśabhāṣā*), all technicalities (*saṁjñā*), all mechanical arts (art-work. *Śilpa*); in metre (*chandas*) and in every other

art."[1] That this is not a conventional or a poetic picture is proved by the fact that even the modern "protected" princes who rule today over the plains of India, which are surrounded by the fertile river-valleys and productive coastal regions, have though rather feebly, kept the tradition of this encyclopaedic training and knowledge pertaining to their position according to the ancient Hindu ideal.

The division of the people into four castes is correctly described by Yuan Chwang. "The first is called the Brāhmaṇa, men of pure conduct. They guard themselves in religion, live purely and observe the most correct principles. The second is called Kṣatriya, the royal caste. For ages they have been the governing class: they apply themselves to virtue (humanity) and kindness. The third is called Vaisya, the merchant class: they engage in commercial exchange, and they follow profit at home and abroad. The fourth is called Śūdra, the agricultural class: they labour in ploughing and tillage." The last remark shows that agricultural and pastoral duties once assigned to Vaiśyas had lost social status. Another remark of Yuan Chwang shows another change of custom from the old days. "A woman once married can never take another husband".[1] The *Dharma sūtras* of the pre-Christian times belong to a formative stage, and describe, (rather than prescribe) the prevalent customs; whereas the *smṛtis* of a later time indicate a state when customs had become crystallized. Notwithstanding his violent Buddhist predilections Yuan Chwang is fair to Brāhmaṇas when he describes them. He says that they are particularly noted "on account of their purity and nobility. Tradition has so hollowed the name of this tribe that there is no question as to difference of place, but the people generally speak of India as the coun-

1. K.B., pp. 59-60.

try of the Brāhmaṇs."[1] In another place he says, "they search for wisdom, relying on their own resources. Although they are possessed of great wealth, yet they will wander here and there to seek their subsistence (*i.e.* turn ascetics). There are others who, whilst attaching value to letters, will yet without shame, consume their fortunes in wandering about for pleasure, neglecting their duties. They squander their substance in costly food and clothing. Having no virtuous principle, and no desire to study, they are brought to disgrace, and their infamy is widely circulated."[2] The Arab geographers also give fairly correct accounts of the state of society.

As Megasthenes divided the people into seven classes so, too, Ibn Khurdadba says "there are seven classes of Hindus, *viz.* 1st, Sābkufrīya, among whom are men of high caste, and from among whom kings are chosen. The people of the other six classes do the men of this class homage, and them only. 2nd, Brahma (*Brāhmaṇa*), who totally abstain from wine and fermented liquors. 3rd, Kataria (*Kṣatriya*, *Khatri*), who drink not more than three cups of wine; the daughters of the class of Brahma are not given in marriage to the sons of this class, but the Brahmas take their daughters. (This is evidently the Kṣatriyas who were not rulers and followed the profession of fighting or the raising of crops). 4th, Sūdariā (*Śūdra*), who are by profession husbandmen. The 5th, Baisura (*Vaiśya*), are artificers and domestics. The 6th, Sandālia (*caṇḍāla*), who perform menial offices. 7th, Lahūd; their women are fond of adorning themselves and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill. (These were probably wandering

1. B.R.W.W., i, p. 69.
2. *Ib.*, i, p. 80.

dancers, jugglers, singers *etc*). In Hind there are forty-two religious sects."[1]

A remark of Sulaimān's elucidates the first class noted above. He says, "In all these kingdoms the nobility is considered to form but one family. Power resides in it alone. The princes name their own successors. (In India royal succession was never subject to the principle of primogeniture.). It is the same with learned men and physicians. They form a distinct caste, and the profession never goes out of that caste."[2] Abū Zaid writing in the X century A.D., says, "among the Indians there are men who are devoted to religion and men of science, whom they call Brahmans. They have also their poets who live at the courts of their kings, astronomers, philosophers, diviners, and those who draw omens from the flight of crows, etc. Among them are diviners and jugglers, who perform most astonishing feats. These observations are especially applicable to Kanauj."[3] The profession of arms was also open to Brāhmaṇas. Many of the generals mentioned in inscriptions belonged to that caste.

Abū Zaid says "most of the princes of India, when they hold a court, allow their women to be seen by the men who attend it, whether they be natives or foreigners. No veil conceals them from the eyes of the visitors."[4] From this remark it may be inferred that the Muhammadan writer was surprised at the absence of the *purdā* in Indian courts, and that much later than his time Hindus adopted the system from the Mussalmāns. But yet the women's quarters in royal palaces were apart from the

1. E.H.I., i, p. 16.
2. E.H.I., i, p. 6.
3. E.H.I., i, p. 10.
4. E.H.I., i, p. 11.

main building. A Vaiṣnava inscription of the time of Bhōjadeva (Mihira) has been found in Gwālior, written in good Sanskrit of the *kāvya* style. It records that Bhōja built a seraglio (*antaḥpura*) in honour of Viṣṇu (*Narakdviṣ*) to add to the glory and religious merit of his queens.[1]

Artists, though they technically belonged to the third caste, were much respected; in the Vedic and later days the *Rathakāras* were the friends of kings. In this period Vikramāditya II conferred the fillet or badge of honour called *mūme-perjeṛepu paṭṭa* and the title of *Tribhuvanācārya*, 'the master-artificer of the three worlds', on the architect Guṇḍa who built the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal.[2]

Speaking of the personal habits of the people, Yuan Chwang says "when they sit or rest (*i.e.* sleep) they all use mats; the royal family and the great personages and assistant officers use mats variously ornamented, but in size they are the same.........Their clothing is not cut or fashioned; they mostly affect fresh-white garments; they esteem little those of mixed colour or ornamented. The men wind their garments round their middle, then gather them under the armpits, and let them fall down across the body, hanging to the right. The robes of the women fall down to the ground; they completely cover their shoulders.........On their heads the people wear caps (*crowns*) with flower-wreaths and jewelled necklets."[3]

"Their garments are made of silk or cotton hemp or wool". Of non-believers (monks, *sādhus*, other than Buddhists), "some wear peacock's feathers; some wear as ornaments necklaces made of skull bones; some have no

1. A.S.I.R., 1903–4, p. 283.
2. I.A., x, pp. 162–4.
3. B.R.W.W., i, p. 75.

clothing, but go naked; some wear leaf or bark garments...... others have bushy whiskers and their hair braided on the top of their heads". "The Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas are cleanly and wholesome in their dress and they live in a homely and frugal way............They (the people) are very particular in their personal cleanliness...........All wash themselves before eating; they never use that which has been left over; they do not pass the dishes.......... After eating they cleanse their teeth with a willow stick, and wash their hand and mouth. Until these ablutions are finished they do not touch one another. Every time they perform the functions of nature, they wash their bodies and use perfumes of sandal-wood or turmeric (saffron). When the king washes they strike the drums and sing hymns to the sound of musical instruments. Before offering their religious services and petitions, they wash and bathe themselves."[1]

" With respect to the ordinary people, although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft.... ....They are not deceitful, or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful, to their oaths and promises.......... In their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness. With respect to criminals or rebels, these are few in number, and only occasionally troublesome......... Whenever orders are received at the hands of the superior, the person lifts the skirts of his robes and makes a prostration. The superior or honourable person who is thus reverenced must speak gently (*to the inferior*), either touching his head or patting his back, and addressing him with good words of direction or advice to show his affection."[2]

1. B.R.W.W., i, pp. 76-77.
2. B.R.W.W., i, pp. 83-5.

"Every one who falls sick fasts for seven days. During this interval many recover, but if the sickness lasts they take medicine............When a person dies, those who attend the funeral raise lamentable cries and weep together. They rend their garments and loosen their hair; they strike their heads and beat their breasts...........There are three methods of paying the last tribute to the dead, cremation, throwing the body into floating water and abandoning the body in a forest to be devoured by beasts" ....The old, the infirm, the hopelessly diseased and those who desire to escape the ills of life, "take a farewell meal at the hands of relatives or friends and drown themselves in the Ganges."[1]

During the period of the Western Cāḷukyas of Bādāmī Śambhu, a Śaiva ascetic, voluntarily entered fire and burnt himself to death, as a means of reaching *mōkṣa*.[2]

With regard to towns and buildings, Yuan Chwang says, "The towns and villages have inner gates; the walls are wide and high; the streets and lanes, are tortuous and the roads winding. The thoroughfares are dirty and the stalls arranged on both sides of the road with appropriate signs. Butchers, fishers, dancers (this refers to devil dancing priests and priestesses of the lower classes), executioners and scavengers, and so on, have their abodes without the city. In coming and going these persons are bound to keep on the left side of the road till they arrive at their homes. (Perhaps this is a confused reference to the left-hand castes which became well-known in later times). Their houses are surrounded by low walls, and form the suburbs. The earth being soft and muddy, the walls of the towns are mostly built of brick or

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1. *Ib.*, i, p. 86.
2. I.A. , xx, p. 69.

tiles. The towers on the walls are constructed of wood or bamboo; the houses have balconies or belvederes, which are made of wood, with a coating of lime or mortar, and covered with tiles.........Rushes or dry branches or tiles, or boards are used for covering them (the houses). The walls are covered with lime and mud, mixed with cow's dung for purity. At different seasons they scatter flowers about.........The *saṅghārāmas* are constructed with extraordinary skill. A three-storied tower is erected at each of the four angles. The beams and the projecting heads are carved with great skill in different shapes. The doors, windows, and the low walls are painted profusely; the monks' cells are ornamental on the inside and plain on the outside. In the very middle of the building is the hall, high and wide. There are various storeyed chambers and turrets of different height and shape, without any fixed rule."[1]

The Indian concept of 'empire' as a mere overlordship, as opposed to the Arab ideal of conquest and imposition of Islamic law, is also described by Sulaimān. He says, "The Indians sometimes go to war for conquest, but the occasions are rare. I have never seen the people of one country submit to the authority of another, except in the case of that country which comes next to the country of pepper, (does he mean the Pāṇḍiyas? He wrote in 851 A.D. when the Pāṇḍiyas and the Pallavas were fighting with, and weakening, each other). When a king subdues a neighbouring state, he places over it a man belonging to the family of the fallen prince, who carries on the government in the name of the conqueror. The inhabitants would not suffer it to be otherwise."[2] Sulaimān remarks that "the troops of the kings of India

1. B.R.W.W, i, p. 73.
2. E.H.I., i, p. 7,

are numerous, but they do not receive pay. The king assembles them only in case of a religious war. They then come out, and maintain themselves without receiving anything from the kings."[1] The "religious war" perhaps means wars with Muhammadans. Abu Zaid says, "Some of the kings of India, when they ascend the throne, have a quantity of rice cooked and served on banana leaves. Attached to the king's person are three or four hundred companions, who have joined him of their own free will without compulsion. When the king has eaten some of the rice, he gives it to his companions. Each in his turn approaches, takes a small quantity and eats it. All those who so eat the rice are obliged, when the king dies, or is slain, to burn themselves to the very last man on the very day of the king's decease."[2] This is true of South India and refers to the warriors called Vēḷaikkāran in Tamil inscriptions.[3]

Succession to the throne was not according to the law of primogeniture. We have seen that the king generally nominated his successor the ablest of his sons. Often when an able person was not named *yuvarāja*, he did not scruple to seize the throne by force. Yuan Chwang says, "the succession of kings is confined to the Kṣatriya caste, who by usurpation and bloodshed have from time to time raised themselves to power."[4]

"The chief soldiers of the country are selected from the bravest of the people, and as the sons follow the profession of their fathers, they soon acquire a knowledge of the art of war. These dwell in garrison around the palace (*during peace*), but when on an expedition they march

1. E.H.I., i, p. 7.
2. *Ib.*, i. p. 9.
3. S.I I., ii, p. 98.
4. B.R.W.W., i, p. 82.

in front as an advanced guard. There are four divisions of the army, *viz.*—(1) the infantry, (2) the cavalry, (3) the chariots, and (4) the elephants. The elephants are covered with strong armour, and their tusks are provided with sharp spurs. A leader in a car gives the command, whilst two attendants on the right and left drive his chariot, which is drawn by four horses abreast. The general of the soldiers remains in his chariot; he is surrounded by a file of guards, who keep close to his chariot wheels. The cavalry spread themselves in front to resist an attack, and in case of defeat they carry orders hither and thither. The infantry by their quick movements contribute to the defence. These men are chosen for their courage and strength. They carry a long spear and a great shield; sometimes they hold a sword or sabre, and advance to the front with impetuosity. All their weapons of war are sharp and pointed. Some of them are these—spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins, and various kinds of slings. All these they have used for ages."[1] With reference to the army of Pulakeśin II, he says, "if a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundred. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight............Moreover they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them."[2]

1. B.R.W.W., i, pp. 82-3.
2. B.R.W.W., ii, p. 256.

"As the administration of the government is founded on benign principles, the executive is simple. The families are not entered on registers (as it must have been in China at the time), and the people are not subject to forced labour (*conscription*)". In his days in India the private demesnes of the crown were used (1) for carrying on the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings, (2) for providing subsidies to ministers and other officers of state, (3) for rewarding men of distinguished ability and (4) for charity to religious bodies. Cultivators paid a sixth part of the produce as tax. The river-passages and road-barriers were open on payment of a small toll. The taxes were light and personal services required were moderate. Merchants could move about without restriction in carrying out their transactions. Each one kept his worldly goods in peace. When the public works required it, labour was exacted but paid for. The governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials had each a portion of land assigned to them for their personal support."[1]

The government of the country was carried on in accordance wtth the injunctions of the *smṛtis*, which contained the rules of the old *sūtras*, slighty altered to suit changing conditions. That the rules of the *smṛtis* were followed is proved by the testimony of Yuan Chwang. He says, "In administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence. ....In their rules of government there is remarkable rectitude..........When the laws are broken or the power of the ruler violated, then the matter is clearly sifted and the offenders imprisoned. There is no infliction of corporal punishment; they are simply left to live or die, and are not counted among men. When the rules of

1. B.R.W.W., i, p. 87-8,

propriety or justice are violated, or when a man fails in fidelity or filial piety, then they cut his nose or his ears off, or his hands and feet, or expel him from the country or drive him out into the desert wilds. For other faults, except these, a small payment of money will redeem the punishment. In the investigation of criminal cases there is no use of rod or staff to obtain proofs (*of guilt*)." An accused person might clear himself by means of the ordeals by water, fire, weight, or poison.[1]

The administration of the country and the economic conditions of life were not disturbed by the constant wars and conquests and reconquests. If anything, the influence of the local *pañcāyat* (*pañch*) and other committees increased on account of the military preoccupations of princes. This is indicated by the references in inscriptions quoted off and on. Temples and donations to Gods and Brāhmaṇas increased throughout the country, for every adventurer, when he seized hold of a province, thought it necessary to extend his glory and express his piety by building temples and giving endowments to them as well as grants to learned Brāhmaṇas. Thus the increase in the number of petty monarchs meant increase in the patronage of learning and the fine arts and did not involve any disturbance in the life of the people. Hence constant change of dynasties was felt to be like the frequent transfer of officers in modern days. The division of the country into a great number of small monarchies became the normal state of affairs as time went on and the weakness it entailed on the country as a whole was realized only when the invasions of the Muhammadans or
scale began in the next period.

The multiplication of feudatory states led to some slight modification in the methods of administration. The

1. B.R.W.W., i, pp. 83-4.

feudatories though generally civil or military officers of the suzerain were semi-independent. They built for themselves strong forts and surrounded themselves with mercenaries. They furnished the suzerain, when demanded, with cavalry and infantry and often fought battles in his behalf. The districts were ruled from *thānas* or garrison posts where the local governor was stationed. He was tax-collector and also administered justice with the aid of a *cōṭiya* or assembly of assessors. Each town or village had its own *cōṭiya*, to adminster local affairs generally, the members being elected by their fellow-citizens and local institutions like temples, tanks, *etc.*, had each its own *pañch* to look after it. When the local committee was dilatory in administering local affairs or in executing the royal orders a herald with a party of men was quartered on the fief which had to supply daily rations (*rōzina*) to the party till the question was settled. The increase in the number of petty kings led to the increase of patronage of learning and of the construction of temples, tanks, schools, and other works of public utility.

The official hierarchy was the same as in the previous period. Kulastambha of Kōdāla in Orissa enumerates *Mahasamantas*, *Rājaputras*, *Niyuktas*, *Daṇḍapāśikas*, *Cāṭas*, *Bhaṭas*, and other royal servants as the persons in whose presence he proclaimed one of his donations.[1] Dharasena II of the Valabhī dynasty gives the following list of his officials in one of his grants :—*Āyuktakas*, *Viniyuktakas*, *Drāṅgikas* (rulers of towns), *Mahattaras* (headmen of villages), *Dhruvādhikaraṇikas* (superintendents of the collectors of the royal shares of the produce in grain), *Dāṇḍapāśikas* (policemen), *Rājasthāniyas*, and *Kumārāmātyas*. The list is not in order of precedence.[2]

1. E.I., xii, p. 158.
2. G.I., n. 170.

Often the offices were hereditary; one cause was officials were paid by the assignment of land. Another cause was that they were held by Brāhmaṇas who were scholars and scholarship went by heredity in Brāhmaṇa households.

Local Government was carried on jointly by the king's officers, whose number varied according to the size of the village or town, and the local committees, and all royal orders were issued to the two conjointly. In several Cāḷukya charters there are references to the relations between the government officers and the local *sabhās*. Thus, Vikramāditya *yuvarāja*, son of Vinayāditya, about 725 A.D., had an inscription incised on a pillar at Lakṣmēśvar (in the Dhārwār district), then called Porigere; in it he has recorded the mutual obligations and rights of the royal authorities represented by him and his officers on one hand and the *Mahājanas* (Brāhmaṇa householders and burgesses) and the eighteen *prakṛtis* (castes) of Porigere on the other:—"The king's officers are to protect those of the houses that are untenanted, the king's gift, the king's proclamation, authoritative testimony of good men, constitutional usage, copper-plate edicts, continued enjoyment of (estate) enjoyed.........the 'five lives' of the *dharma*..........This is the municipal constitution for the *Mahājanas*; a tax that (every) occupied house shall pay once every year in the month of Vaiśākha to the governors of the district; each several household for festival expenses, the highest households (paying) ten *paṇas*, the intermediate households seven *paṇas*, the lower five, and the lowest three; all previous usages, viz., *puṭṭige* ....fines for theft and minor delinquencies, (fines for) the ten offences, likewise what is known as property of childless persons; (all these) shall be paid in to the gild there in the month of Kārtika. A *gutta* shall be paid for the *rūva* in the

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month of Māgha...........The *paṇḍis* and *seṭṭis*..........For the gild of braziers (every) occupied house (shall pay) for festival expenses, the highest households twenty *palas*...... ......the intermediate fifteen, the lower ten, the lowest five; total, one *tōle*."[1] Though a portion of the inscription is illegible, there is enough to show that in the Western Cāḷukya country (as too in every other part of the country), the old arrangements of central and local governments as described in the *Artha Śāstras* remained unchanged.

The Pallavas introduced in the Tamil country the system of administration prevalent in the rest of India. The central government was carried on by the king and his representatives assisted by *Pariṣads*; and local government was administered by local bodies consisting of local leaders, the most learned and influential people of the village, including heads of gilds - commercial and industrial. The Pallavas and, imitating them, the Pāṇḍiyas, started donating whole villages to groups of learned Brāhmaṇas; these were called *caturvēdimaṅgalams, lit.*, villages belonging to men learned in the four Vedas. These villages became in the Tamil country centres of Sanskrit culture; as well as the seat of local administration for a small *nāḍu*, district embracing the *caturvēdimangalam* and the hamlets around.

The constitution and duties of the local *sabhās* are referred to in the later Pallava inscriptions in detail, because in North India the committees existed from antiquity, but in the Tamil Districts they were gradually introduced by the Pallava monarchs as a part of the Aryanization of the country during their long rule.

Arrangements for irrigation and the making of tanks and other reservoirs of water were not lacking in this

1. E.I., xiv, pp. 189-190.

period. Kōṇadēvī, wife of Ādityasena of Magadha caused a tank to be dug at Mandār in the Bhāgalpur District.[1] Sūrya, an officer of Avantivarma of Kāśmīr diverted the course of the Vitastā and made it meet the Sindhu near Śrīnagar and increased irrigational facilities and controlled the inundation of the land. As Kalhaṇa says, "he made the different streams, with their waves which are (like) the quivering tongues (of snakes), move about according to his will, just as conjuror (does with) the snakes. After constructing stone embankments for seven *yōjanas* along the Vitastā, he damned in the waters of the Mahāpadmā lake. Trained by him, the Vitastā starts from the basin of the Mahāpadmā lake, like an arrow from the bow. Having thus raised the land from the water, like (another) primeval boar (Viṣṇu), he formed various villages, which were filled with a multitude of people. Keeping out the water by means of circular dykes, he gave to these villages the appearance of round bowls (*kuṇḍa*). The people call these (villages), which are amply supplied with all (kinds of) foodstuffs, by the name of Kuṇḍala."[2]

Mahendravarma of Kāñcī constructed *c.* 600 A.D. a big tank of at Mahendravāḍi, capable of irrigating lands to a distance of 8 miles from it.[3] Another tank of Mahendra's is that of Māmaṇḍūr, near Kāñcī, called *citramegha-taṭāka*. It is deeper than most other tanks. "The bund rests upon the bases of two hills and islets rise here and there in the centre of the reservoir, making it the prettiest tank in the district".[4] Another was constructed by one Tiraiyan at Termēri, 11 miles from the

1. G.I., p. 211.
2. R. v, 102-106.
3. E.I., iv, pp. 152-153.
4. Dt. Manual of N. Arcot, ii, p. 305.

same town. It existed in the VII century.[1] Another Parameśvaravarma, Mahendra's great grandson built the Parameśvara *taṭāka*, with a feeder-channel from Pālār in the 2nd half of the VII century at Kūram, 9 miles from Kāñcī.[2] Another Pallava tank is that of Taṇḍalam near Arkonam. In the 4th year of Dantivarma was begun the construction of a well at Tiruveḷḷārai, near Trichinopoly, called *Mārppiḍugu* (a title of the king) *perungiṇaru* ('big well') by Kamban Araiyan. It was finished in his 5th year. "There are 4 entrances leading into the well and they are so constructed as to give it the shape of the *Svastika* symbol". The well was placed in the charge of the 3700 (family-headmen) of the village.[3] The Pallava tank at Uttarmallūr (Chingleput Dt.) was formerly called *Vayiramegha taṭāka*; for it was built by Dantivarma, one of whose titles was *Vayiramegha*, at the close of the VIII century. For removing silt from, and repairing the tank frequent gifts were made and entrusted to the village assembly. Other tanks of the same period were those of Guḍimallam and Ukkal, the Kanakavalli *ēri* near Vellore, and the Kāveripākam (all in North Arcot Dt.),

The architectural activities of this age were tremendous. But most of the brick buildings of Northern India custructed then have been destroyed by the Muhammadan Sultāns who gained the rule of a great part of Āryāvarta in the XIII and later centuries. Harṣa's temples and other buildings of Kanauj were destroyed along with that city in the XVI century and since then used as quarries for road metal. A few, however, survive in out of the way places. For instance, an

1. S.I.I., ii, p. 360.
2. S.I.I., i, 154-155.
3. E.I., xi, p. 155.

ancient brick temple, well-preserved, and belonging to the VIII century, stands at Kōnch in South Bihār. The largest of the bricks used were 11 × 5½ × 2¾ inches. The roof is made of "arcs meeting at the crown in a ridge and of great strength being built of bricks cut to shape and of great depth transversely."[1] Bricks of similar large size are found in the foundations, which alone remain of the Pallava palace at the village of Pallavaram near Peruvaḷanallūr in the Trichinopoly District, where a great battle was fought between Parameśvara and Vikramāditya I. Of stone-temples of North India of this age that of Muṇḍeśwari is a specimen. It was of octagonal shape with a flat roof and in the centre stood a *caturmukha liṅga* or *liṅga* with four heads and an image of Durgā. The roof "must have been crowned by the usual melon dome"; "there were two windows each in the northern and southern sides [the temple facing east] filled with latticed stone-work, and the intervening mural spaces were provided with small niches for the reception of statues."[2]

At Ōsiā, thirty-two miles from Jōdhpur there are about a dozen temples more or less decayed; the earliest, bearing an inscription of Vatsarāja of the Pratihāra dynasty (*c.* 770-800 A.D.). The bulk of them belong to the IX century. The majority of the temples are Vaiṣṇava, two or three Śākta, one Śaiva and one Jaina. The walls, pillars, and spires are profusely ornamented, the ornamentation of the earlier ones being reminiscent of the art-work of the cave-temples of the region. The shafts of the pillars are either round with sixteen flutings or plain and square. On the mouldings of the door-frames are Nāga-figures with folded hands, their tails following

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1. A.S.I.R., (Cunningham) viii, p. 55.
2. A.S.I.R., 1902-3, p. 43.

the sides and the lintel, a Garuḍa carrying Viṣṇu occupying the centre. To the right and left of the lower corners of the doorway stand Gaṅgā and Yamunā, on a crocodile and a tortoise respectively, as in the temples of middle India from the VI to the X centuries. In the temples of Ōsiā the ten incarmations of Viṣṇu are not represented but only those of Varāha, Narasiṁha, Trivikrama, Kṛṣṇa-Balarāma and Buddha, of whom Balarāma is canopied by a five-hooded serpent.[1]

The passage from wood temples to brick temples in the Central Provinces took place later than in other parts of the country for the reason that hard timber continued to be available in the forests, which have survived destruction longer here than in the rest of India. Śīrpūr (Śrīpura) on the Mahānadī, 37 miles from East by North of Rāipūr was in the VII and VIII centuries a city of considerable importance, now mostly hidden by dense forest. There were then built on stone-platforms several temples entirely of large-sized bricks with the exception of the stone door-frame of the sanctum entrance. *Maṇḍapas* of brick supported by stone pillars and pilasters were added later. The brick-work and stone-work are profusely carved. One temple which has been recently conserved and repaired is that of Lakṣmaṇa. The larger bricks were 17½" × 10½" × 9". "The surfaces and joints between the brickwork.........have been rubbed down to a beautifully smooth surface and covered with a thin layer of excellent white plaster," perhaps as a ground-work of colour. The chief features of the carved brick surfaces are "the vase-shaped moulding of the plinth, the numerous rows of *caitya* roof and gable moulding and the *caitya* arched niches", and "the delicate lotus." The Kāśmīr kings built many temples. Many of them were wooden structures and have perished. Of the most

1. A.S.I.R., 1908-9, pp. 100-115, also A.S.I.R., 1906-7, p. 42.

beautiful of them, partially decayed but still standing, is the famous one of Mārtāṇḍa erected by Lalitāditya. It is 60 feet by 38 feet and is one of the largest temples of the age. The more ornate temple of Vāntpar (Avantipura) was erected by Avantivarma in the IX century. Some of the stone temples of Kāśmīr had wooden roofs.

In the Cāḷukya territory the progress from cave-temples to structural ones was made in the VII century A.D. Within 40 years of the cave-temples of Maṅgalīśa, the structural temple of Meguṭi at Aihoḷe was built by Ravikīrti. The style of the structure was evolved from the Kadamba style and is characterised by stepped-out pyramidal towers, heavy mouldings, perforated slabs, and shallow pilasters on walls. The temple of Meguṭi was left unfinished and has suffered much from the hands of time. Inside there is a huge Jaina statue. Near the temple there is another, half-excavated and half-built. There are several other temples in Aihōḷe.

Cāḷukyan architecture of this age used as material a rough-grained sandstone. Western Cāḷukyan art reached a high level of excellence in the VIII century. The Virūpākṣa temple of Paṭṭaḍakal was built for Lōkamahādevī, wife of Vikramāditya II, in imitation of the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñcī, perhaps by architects from the latter place. It measures over 250 feet, of which main building occupies a length of 120 feet. "The exterior of the temple is a mass of heavy mouldings and sculpture............The sculptures..........are natural and forcible and they need no labels to assist in interpreting them. The beautiful perforated scroll-patterned windows form one of the finest features of the building."[1] There are many other fine old temples in the village. This place was the meeting-

1. A.A.W.I.. p. 23.

point of the Southern and Northern types of towers, both of which are found there. "The Durgā temple is, without doubt, the finest and most imposing at Aihoḷe and it is one of the most unique in India, in that the plan follows the line of the apsidal cave *caitya* of the Buddhists, the place of the shrine occupying that of the *Dāgoba*", the latter being a copy of the older wooden temple.[1]

The Meguṭi temple (634 A.D.), situated upon the top of a hill, "consists of a square, which is the shrine within a large square, thus giving a passage all round the shrine, lighted dimly by small perforated stone windows in the walls. In front of this the rest of the building narrows considerably, and contains a small ante-chamber and an outer hall, which appears to have been originally open all round."[2]

The history of the development of stone-architecture step by step, can be observed in the Pallava territory in this period. It started with the excavations on the sides of hills as cave-temples; this was followed by the sculpturing of whole hills in the form of a temple, or, what was the same thing, temple-cars (for a car was but a moving temple); the final stage was the building of a structural temple composed of a cella with an ornamented domical roof and a flat-roofed *maṇṭapa* in front. Mahendravarma was the first maker of cave temples south of the Kṛṣṇā. His first work was the unfinished cave-temple at Uṇḍavalli, on the Southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā, near Bezvāḍa; possibly the invasion of the East Coast by Pulakeśin II led to his abandonment of the work. Mahendra was impartial in his choice of Gods. His

1. A.S.I.R., 1907-8, p. 194.
2. A.S.I.R., 1907-8, p. 195.

best work is the Jaina temple at Śiṟṟannavāyil in the Pudukoṭṭa state, adorned with paintings in the Ajantā style; others are the Śaiva one on the Trichinopoly rock, which he calls "a wonderful stone-mansion on the head of the chief of hills," and the Vaiṣṇava one, the Raṅganātha temple at Nāmakkal in the Salem district. Massive pillars with lotus madallions are the chief mark of Mahendra's works. Other cave temples of Mahendra are found in Maṇḍagappaṭṭu and Daḷavānūr (South Arcot Dt.), in Pallāvaram and Vallam (Chingleput Dt.), in Śīyamaṅgalam and Mahendravāḍi (N. Arcot Dt.) and the Śiva temples of Tirugōkarṇam and Tirumeyyam in the Pudukoṭṭa state. Other Pallava cave temples made after Mahendra's time are the lower cave temple (Śiva and Viṣṇu) of Trichinopoly rock, and the Kuḍumiyāmalai Śiva temple near Pudukoṭṭa town. The fashion of making cave-temples was copied by the Muttaraiyas who were the feudatories, and the Pāṇḍiyas who were the rivals, of the Pallavas. The former in the VIII century made the Viṣṇu and Śiva temples of Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi, (the former possessing paintings of the *Daśāvatāra* under the roof), the Viṣṇu temples at Tirumeyyam and at Tāndōṇi in the Trichinopoly district.

In the Pāṇḍiya-nāḍu the first cave-temple (*Śilāgṛham* Tamil *Kaṟṟaḷi*) was that made by the *uttaramantri* (chief minister) of Varaguṇa Maharāja, named Māraṅgāṟi Madurakavi in the Ānaimalai hill and dedicated to Narasiṁha. His brother and successor to the place of minister Māṟan Eyinan finished the work. Smaller cave temples, perhaps of the IX century exist, of which the one at Bangalore is a specimen. The last cave temple of which there is a record in the Cāḷukya territory was made in the Kanhēri hill in 854 A.D.[1]

1. I.A., xiii, p. 135.

The next stage in the evolution of the stone-temple was the monolithic temple, a whole hill carved in the shape of the *vimāna* of a temple with a little recess in the centre for a *liṅgam*. Specimens of these are the well-known *Rathas* of Mahābalipuram (Seven Pagodas) near Madras. These were commenced by Mahendra's son, Narasiṁha *Mahāmalla* (whence the name Māmallapuram, altered to Mahābalipuram, when the Bāṇas or Mahābalis became independent monarchs) and completed, (more or less) by the latter's grandson, Parameśvera. Story sculptures, *i.e.*, "large bas-relief scenes carved on the natural face of a cliff or huge rock standing in the open air",[1] unknown elsewhere in India, also belong to this age. Narasiṁhavarma's architecture is indicated by squatting open mouthed lions supporting pillars. Such pillars are found even now in various places right in the heart of the Tamil land.

The next stage was the structural stone temple, that built by packing stone on stone. The first important temple of this kind was the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñcī built by the great Śaiva devotee, Rājasiṁha. The mark of his work is the rearing lion supporting pillars. He installed fluted *liṅgams* in his temples. Others of his temples are the shore Temple at Mahābalipuram, the Śiva temple at Pānamalai in the South Arcot Dt. and a few others. From this time figures of Gaṇeśa, and Subrahmaṇya became popular in temples. Viṣṇu temples also now began to be built of stone at Kāñcī and other places. One of the earliest is the Vaikuṇṭanātha temple at Kāñcī. Pallava temples increased in number in the IX century. The temples still consisted of a cella with a *vimāna* and a small *maṇṭapa* in front, without a *gōpura*. Numerious little gems of stone temples were built by the

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1. M.A.S.I., No. 33, p. 3.

early *Cōḷa* kings and queens in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. Like the later Pallava temples, they consisted of a shrine with a domical top and a small hall in front of them. This has been the fundamental plan of temples in South India ever since. But only a few of these temples still stand as they were built at first. In the case of the more famous of these temples, series of halls (*maṇṭapas*) with numerous pillars were put up in front of the shrine, with short or tall *gōpuras*, entrace towers, for each of them and one or more open or covered procession-paths (*prākārams*), each walled-in all round, and halls on the sides for festival-purposes from time to time. Thus the South Indian temple ultimately became bewildering complexity of structures, the original unity of plan being smothered by later additions.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa architecture began, like all others, with cave-temples. Those at Ellora were made by Dantidurga the first Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. Kṛṣṇa, the next king, made the Kailāsa temple of Ellora imitatiug in style the Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñcī, built by Rājasiṁha. In an inscription of 811 A.D. of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karkarāja of Lāṭa it is said that on seeing the temple, "the wonderstruck lords of the gods driving in their aerial cars constantly reflect (saying): 'This abode of Śiva is self-existent; in an artificial (building) such beauty was never seen.'.........And by him (Kṛṣṇarāja) Śambhu, standing there, was further embellished with all sorts of riches, rubies, gold, and so on."[1] J. B. Seely, writing in 1824, thus describes this temple, "Conceive the burst of surprise at suddenly coming upon a stupendous temple, within a large open court, hewn out of the solid rock, with all its parts perfect and beautiful, standing proudly alone upon its native bed, and detached from the neigh-

1. E.I., xiii, p. 277.

bouring mountain by a spacious area all round, nearly 250 feet deep, and 150 feet broad: this unrivalled fane rearing its rocky head to a height of 100 feet—its length about 145 feet, by 62 broad—having well-formed doorways windows, staircases to its upper floor, containing fine large rooms of a smooth and polished surface, regularly divided by rows of pillars: the whole bulk of this immense block of isolated excavation being upwards of 500 feet in circumference and extraordinary as it may appear, having beyond its areas three handsome figure galleries or verandas, supported by regular pillars, with compartments hewn out of the boundary scarp, containing 42 curious gigantic figures of the Hindoo mythology the whole three galleries in continuity, enclosing the areas, and occupying the almost incredible space of nearly 420 feet of excavated rock; being upon the average, about 13 feet 2 inches broad all round, and in height 14 feet and a half; while, positively, above these again are excavated five large rooms. Within the court and opposite these galleries, or verandas, stands Keylas the Proud, wonderfully towering in hoary majesty—a mighty fabric of rock, surpassed by no relic of antiquity in the known world."[1] The architecture of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas began with the caves of Elephanta, near Bombay.

There was a great development of sculpture too. Very early in the period the figures of Simhaviṣṇu and Mahendravarma were sculptured in a Mahābalipuram shrine. The panel at the western end of the upper cave-temple made by Mahendra Pallava has as the central figure the dancing Śiva, treading underfoot the little demon Muyilagan. He has the usual Śiva weapons and ornaments and holds a *nāga* in one hand. Above his up-lifted right hand is Gaṅgā. Ṛṣis and Gand-

1, W.E., pp. 126-7.

harvas occupy the vacant spaces. The whole is a beautiful piece of group statuary, vigorously carved, but slightly damaged because the cave was used as a powder-magazine in the Anglo-French wars of the XVIII century. The *Dvārapālakas* (door-keepers) of all Mahendravarma's shrine stand in a characteristic pose and are vigorous pieces of carving. There are also fine bas-relief figures of Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Brahmā, Candra and Iśvarī, on the back wall of the lower cave at Trichinopoly. In the VIII century was made the image of Buddha which was consecrated by Harṣa. Yuan Chwang says "it is a standing figure about 30 feet high. It is of native copper (bronze?) and decorated with costly gems." He mentions also other "statues of Buddha highly decorated with jewels, one made of gold and silver, the other of native copper".[1]

Early in this period one Pantha caused to be made at considerable cost a beautiful image of Bhavānī, "fierce looking, awe-inspiring owing to a garland formed of gruesome human heads, with limbs encircled by crawling snakes, and with dry flesh pierced on an axe, delighting in a sportive dance (and) with rolling eyes."[2] The Seṣasāyi idol of Mahayadipaḷḷi bears remains of painting. The painting represented Nārāyaṇa lying in the ocean of milk. The God, the Serpent and the divine ornaments were well painted in accordance with the description given in the *Purāṇas*. The paint was put on a composition which was applied to the stone idol, as in frescoes. The Rāṅganātha image of Śrīraṅgam has been described by a IX century poet as having been similarly painted. As the idol now in the temple is an unpainted brick and

1. B.R.W.W., i, p. 222.
2. E.I., ix, p. 61.

mortor one, we have to infer that the original was destroyed probably by Malik Kāfur.

The Ellora caves contain Viṣṇu, Bhairava, and Kālī groups vigorously carved. The beauty of the many images in the temple of Kailāsa exceeds that of the figures in most other temples in India and elsewhere. The sculptures in the Elephanta caves are characterised by picturesqueness of composition and dramatic beauty of movement of the figures, which show that Indian art was steadily growing in mastery of the material on which it worked. The marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī may be mentioned as being very graceful. Not many paintings of the period exist; the few that have not perished belong to cave-temple and have been mentioned along with them. Many pictures must have been painted associated with sculptural temples for the art could not have died out of its own accord; but they have been destroyed when the temples decayed. The decline of cave-temples and the rise of structural temples deprived ancient painting of safe refuge where they might defy the ravages of time and continue to exist for the edification of posterity.

The art of **music** had an uninterrupted existence in India from the remote past. The evidence for its continued existence is furnished by the inscription in Kuḍumiyāmalai near Pudukoṭṭa. There on a rock on the slopes of the hill behind the Śikhānāthasvamī temple (Kuḍumiyāmalai) in the Pudukoṭṭa state is carved a musical inscription in the characters of Mahendra Pallava's time. "It is divided into seven sections corresponding to the seven classical *rāgas* of the time, *viz.*, (1) *Madhyamagrāma*, (2) *Ṣaḍjagrāma*, (3) *Ṣāḍava*, (4) *Sādhārita*, (5) *Pañcama*, (6) *Kaiśikamadhyama*, and (7) *Kaiśika*. Each section consists of a collection of groups of four

notes, arranged in sub-sections of sixteen.........Of course only those notes are used which are proper to the particular *rāga*."[1] This treatise was composed by a king (most probably Mahendra Pallava), the pupil of Rudrācārya, a musician. In the absence of information about the Indian music of the time it is not easy to produce it on the *Viṇā*. Of this we may be sure that the North Indian music thus introduced by the Pallava monarch, blended with the ancient Tamil music and developed into the "Karnāṭaka music" of modern South India. What the simpler ancient Tamil music was like there is no means of discovering. There are references to music and dancing in the *Śilappadigāram*, but the use of Sanskrit technical terms shows that Āryan music is referred to. In the same poem and in the short odes composed much earlier, ancient Tamil dancing and singing are frequently referred to, but not in sufficient detail to help us to find out what they were like.

Trade, internal and external, flourished in this period as in the previous ones. We have very little foreign testimony about this, but the fact that traders' gilds and gilds of craftsmen of all kinds are mentioned frequently in inscriptions proves that trade and industries flourished. Epigraphs also give information about tolls. Yuan Chwang gives some information about foreign trade. He says, "gold and silver, native copper, white jade, fire pearls, are the natural products of the country; there are besides these abundance of rare gems and various kinds of precious stones of different names, which are collected from the islands of the sea. These they exchange for other goods; and in fact they always barter in their commercial transactions, for they have no gold or silver coins".[1] The last statement is of course not true; though the coins of this period discovered so far are not so nume-

1. E.I., xii, p. 227.

rous as those of the last one. The very multiplicity of royal courts rivalling with each other in splendour and the frequent erection of splendid temples during this period amply testify to the great development of industries as well as trade, internal and foreign.

Yuan Chwang reports that in Kapiśa "are found objects of merchandise from all parts.........In commerce they use gold and silver coins and also little copper coins."[2] Kapiśa was the entrepot of the overland trade to Persia and beyond. The trade with Central Asia and the overland trade with China passed through Kāśmīr. The East coast trade with the mainland of South Eastern Asia and China flourished, and the constant overflow of Indian culture to them as well as to the islands upto Borneo continued. Speaking of Orissa, Yuan Chwang says, "On the south-east frontiers of the country, on the borders of the ocean, is the town of Caritra, about 20 li round. Here it is merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on their way. The walls of the town are strong and lofty. Here are found all sorts of rare and precious articles."[3]

There were many other Eastern seaports, like those at the mouths of the Godāvarī, and the Kṛṣṇā, Nellore at the mouth of the Northern Pennār, Mahābalipuram, and other ports of the Pallavas whence Indian articles of merchandize and culture reached the Far East. Trade flourished on the West Coast. Yuan Chwang, speaking of Valabhī, says "there are some hundred houses (*families*) or so, who possess a hundred *lākhs*. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities."[4] The immense wealth of Gujarāt, Koṅkaṇ, and

1. B.R.W.W., i, pp. 89-90.
2. B.R.W.W., i, p. 54.
3. B.R.W.W., ii, p. 205.
4. B.R.W.W., ii, 266.

the Cera country was due to this trade. In this period the Arabs became the intermediaries of the trade from the West Coast. The Arabs were expert traders from ancient times, because they considered themselves bound by the ancient Semitic law that the taking of interest for money lent was making barren metal breed and they necessarily had to earn wealth by trade; moreover their country being a sterile desert, they could not raise crops from the soil, and became bold travellers whose only possible profession was commerce. In the VII and VIII centuries their sway spread over all Western Asia and Northern Africa and extended even to Western Europe. They were also brave sailors and India's foreign trade necessarily passed into their hands. The Europeans called them the Moors.

Colonies. In the colony of **Kambuja**, Iśānavarma son of Mahendravarma, reigned in the beginning of the VII century. His capital was Iśānapura. His court has been thus described in a Chinese book :—"The king sits on a couch adorned with seven kinds of precious stones and perfumed with five sorts of scents. Above that is a canopy supported by columns of precious wood inlaid with ivory and flowers of gold. On each side of the throne a man carries a censer in which incense is burned. The king dresses in purple-cloured silk with embroidered work. He wears a crown, decorated with pearls and precious stones, and he has ear-rings of gold like a woman. His shoes are ornamented with ivory work."[1] This looks like an echo of the description of an Indian court; so that we learn that India supplied her colonies not only with royal houses, priests, religion, and a classical language but also with artists and artisans. The Harihara cult prevailed in this century; hence the antagonism between the worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu which began

1. Qucted in I.C.I.C., p. 49. *Ed.*

in South India in this century had not had time to spread to her colonies. Iśānavarma's successor was Bhavavarma II who was reigning in 639 A.D. Jayavarma I succeeded him *c.* 664 A.D. In a Sanskrit inscription of his time there occurs the first mention of Buddhism in Kambuja. One of his feudatory-officers, the chief of Ādhyapura inaugurated a fair. He was a physician and was also employed as an ambassador to Campā. After Jayavarma, Kambuja was torn by internal conflict. Then the Javanese invaded Kambuja and laid the country waste: Abu Zaid refers to the invasion of Kambuja, which he calls Kumār (Khmer), by the princes of Jāvā, (Abu Zaid's Zabaj). Incidentally he describes Kambuja. "This country is not an island, but is situated (on the continent of India) on that side which faces the country of Arabs. There is no kingdom which has a more dense population then Kumār. Here every one walks on foot. The inhabitants abstain from licentiousness, and from all sorts of wine. Nothing indecent is to be seen in this country."[1] Zaid then proceeds to describe how the Mahārāja of Zabaj invaded Kumār and cut off the head of its king, as a punishment for insult. In 802 A.D. Jayavarma II from Jāvā became ruler of Kambuja and it again became a powerful state. Along with him came the cult of Dēvarāja, which held that the ruling king was mystically connected with the *liṅga* which was the principal object of his worship and the High Priest of the God was the royal *purōhita* and the High Pontiff of the state. This cult, it is said, was introduced from Kuñjara Kuñja in South India, by one Agastya into Jāvā, Bhṛgu into Campā and Hiranyadāma into Kambuja. Kuñjara Kuñja is Kuñjara Kuṇṛa, Anaimalai, the top of which was one of Agastya's residences according to tradition.

1. E.H.I., i, p. 8. See also S.I.M.H., p. 8-9. *Ed.*

The cult involved *Tāntrika* rites. The Indian parallels to this cult are (1) that in the close of the VII century Rājasiṁha of Kāñcī concentrated all activities on the Śaiva rites, and probably at that time lived Tirumūlar, author of *Tirumandiram* which is an exposition in Tamil of Śaiva *Tāntrika* rites. (2) A little later, in the Cēra country arose the idea of the God Padmanābha of Trivandrum (Tiruvanandapuram) being the ruler of the land and the king, his servant, the administrator of the land in his name. The cult of Dēvarāja in Kambuja seems to be a blending of the two and spread to Indo-China. Jayavarma II had quite as large a posse of officers as had the contemporary Indian kings; and his eulogies are in the same style as the Indian ones of the time, even imitating the grammatical similies which characterise the Indian poems of this age. As the Śaiva cult was connected with the Bauddha on account of the common body of *Tāntrika* practices Jayavarma paid homage to Lōkanātha (Buddha) as well as to Śiva. Jayavarma III (869-877 A.D.) succeeded his father and was a great hunter of wild elephants. He was succeeded by a distant relative Indravarma I. These kings were deified after death and given new names. Jayavarma II thus became after death Paramesvara and his son, Viṣṇulōka. Indravarma I was a great warrior and a great builder of temples. Numerous inscriptions of his have been found. He died in 889 A.D. and became Iśvaralōka.

Architecture in Kambuja began as in India with wood and brick, but sandstone replaced them in the IX century. "The monuments before the IX century were isolated towers, built with bricks, of simple plan, rectangular, with walls relieved only by false doors. The ornamental details............were closely connected with the Pallava art of South India."[1] With Jayavarma III began

1. I.C.I.C., (quoting, Permentier), p. 74.

a new style of architecture, getting his inspiration from Java. He built three capitals one after another. The first was Hariharālaya, where he built a temple and a palace in front of an artificial lake (*dāk, taṭāka*), 2 miles long and 1-3 of a mile in width. The ditch round the palace was "crossed by broad stone bridges with parapets of giants holding serpents in their hands, representing the churning of the ocean"; it was protected by about 50 towers with human faces, and surrounded by walls with full-size sculptures of nymphs on them.[1] The second was Amarendrapura and the third, Mahendra Parvata, both built on the lines of the first.

In **Campā**, Śambhuvarma returned when the Chinese army went back. His son, Kandarpadharma, called "virtue incarnate" in an inscription, regularly paid tribute to China. His son Prabhāsadharma was killed by his minister and anarchy ensued (645 A.D.). Order was restored by Vikrāntavarma, who by 657 A.D. built several temples to Śiva and one to Viṣṇu. Thereafter China received tribute regularly till 757 A.D., when the dynasty was put an end to, probably on account of the Javanese invasions which destroyed Kambuja also. Then Pṛthvīndravarma founded a new dynasty. He was succeeded by his nephew Satyavarma (*c.* 774 A.D.). In his reign also there was a raid by the Javanese and the temple of Mukhaliṅga was destroyed by "the vicious cannibals coming from other countries by means of ships."[2] The king renewed the temple and installed a new idol. He was succeeded by his brother Indravarma in *c.* 785 A.D. Another Javanese raid and another temple destroyed and rebuilt were the chief events of his reign. He built and endowed other temples, especially one to Śaṅkara-

1. *Ib.*, pp. 87-88.
2. Quoted from an inscription in *Champa* by Mazumdar p. 50.

nārāyaṇa. By this time these two gods had begun to part company in South Indian temples. His brother-in-law Vīra Vijaya Śrī Harivarmadeva reigned from 800-820 A.D. He defeated the Chinese and acquired two districts and assumed the title of Rājādhirāja Śrī Campāpura Parameśvara, 'king of kings, supreme lord of Campā.' His son Vikrāntavarma III reigned from 820 A.D. to 860 A.D. His general Pār ravaged the towns of the Kambujas. He also built and endowed temples. With Vikrāntavarma's death the dynasty ended. Indravarma, possibly a local chief, made himself master of Campā and assumed the title of Śrī Jaya Indravarma Mahārājādhirāja. He claims to belong to the Bhṛugu family, for the new cult that at this time rose in Kambuja was introduced by one Bhṛgu into Campā. He gave endowments to Śiva temples and also built a temple for Svabhagada, *i.e*, Buddha. He reigned till 898 A.D.[1]

The flow of Hindu culture to **Jāvā** was continuous. But "we must not think of any sudden and definite conquest, but rather of a continuous current of immigration starting perhaps from several springs and often merely trickling, but occasionally swelling into a flood."[2] Javanese traditions represent the Indian as coming from Kaliṅga or Gujarāt, and Chinese annals mention a kingdom called Kaliṅga in Central Jāvā and say, "In 674 A.D. the people of this realm took as their ruler a lady of the name of Sīmā. Her rule was most excellent, even things dropped on the road were not picked up. An Arab chief (an Arab colony existed on the western coast of Sumātrā from an early date) sent a bag of gold to be laid down within her frontiers. The people avoided it in walking and it remained untouched for three years."[3]

1. Condensed from R. C. Mazumdar's *Champa*, Chaps III-VI.
2. H.B., iii, p. 155.
3. Quoted in *India and Java* p. 3 (B.R. Chatterji).

Indian colonists also migrated from the coast of the Tamil country. The Tamil poem, *Maṇimēkalai* refers to an active cultural and commercial intercourse between Kāvērippaṭṭanam and Śāvakanāḍu (Jāvā, perhaps also Sumātrā). From that seaport an Agastya sailed in the VII century and carried the cult of Dēvarāja already discussed. In an inscription in the Pallava *grantha* script and Sanskrit language dated Śaka 654 (732 A.D.) of Central Jāvā, which became in this century the centre of power, there is a reference to the construction of a Śaiva temple on the model of that in Kuñjara Kuñja (Agastya's *āśrama*). The inscription also mentions king Sañjaya, son of Sannaha. Sañjaya built in 732 A.D. a temple and dedicated a *liṅga* therein. The inscription referring to this invokes Śiva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu. Another inscription dated 760 A.D. refers to the construction of a black stone image of Agastya by the king Gajayān.[1] There are inscriptions of 809 and 840 A.D. which refer to Hindu temples on a hill; many temples were built by the rulers of Middle Jāvā from the VIII to the X century. This was due chiefly to the stimulus of Agastya and his descendants in Jāvā which led to the building of eight temples at Prambanam, " of which four are dedicated to Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Nandi respectively......... The largest and most decorated is that dedicated to Śiva, containing four shrines in which are images of the god as Mahādeva and as Guru, of Gaṇeśa and of Durgā. The balustrade is ornamented with a series of reliefs illustrating the *Rāmāyaṇa*."[2] On the Dieng plateau many more temples were built. The plateau, 6,500 ft. high, "was approached by paved roads or flights of stairs, on one of which about 4000 steps still remain. Originally there seems to have been about 40 buildings on the plateau but

1. *Ib.*
2. H.B., iii, p. 167.

of these only eight now exist, besides several stone foundations which supported wooden structures." As at Mahābalipuram these temples are now named after the *Mahābhārata* heroes. "They are rectangular tower-like shrines with porches and a single cellule within,"[1] as in the *Rathas* of Mahābalipuram.

Sumātrā was visited by the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing late in the VII century; and he reports that Buddhism was prevalent in a province called Bhōja. In the VIII century the great Śailendra dynasty arose in Śrīvijaya (Palembang). This dynasty ruled over Jāvā, and the Malay peninsula. Its kings were *Mahāyāna* Buddhists and used the Nāgarī script. They were therefore influenced from Northern India. The Śailendra kings spread the *Mahāyāna* in Jāvā as well as in Campā. A Buddhist inscription of 788 A.D. in Central Jāvā in the Nāgarī script refers to the building of a great temple to Tārā at Kalasan in Central Jāvā by a Śailendra king. But the wonderful monument at Borobudur is the greatest result of the spread of the *Mahāyāna* in this period. A Dutch soldier wrote of it in 1866, "the temple here, this splendid work of art, the glory of old Jāvā, stands in its grey antiquity loaded with images and festoons, built up in stories and galleries, representing the whole life and acts of Buddha in carved reliefs; the magnificence, the great skill, the genius, conception, all that was in and around in this old temple is far beyond imagination; no wonder it draws people from all parts of the world to see it. Lovers of art and antiquity will find all that they want in the study of this old religion portrayed so vividly in so many forms; those who know the arts must exclaim "O Javans of the ages, what mighty artists you were!"

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1. *Ib.*, p. 167-8.

Indian culture steadily influenced the intellectual development of China in this period.[1] The Indian *Pandits* who went to China in the Seventh century were Prabhākara (627 A.D.) who translated three Buddhist books, Nadi (655 A.D.) who did two books, Divākara who translated 18 books, a Kāśmīri Ratnacinta (693 A.D.) who translated 7 works and Dharmaruci (693 A.D.) who produced 53 books. Early in the VIII century Vajrabōdhi went from South India and Śubhākara from Nālandā. Amōghavarṣa who reached China in 719 A.D. was the greatest translator of Buddhist works into Chinese and spread the *Tāntrika* rites in China. He translated 77 books. In the IX century no Indian seems to have gone to China.

Indian culture also spread west in this age. In 750 A.D. Khalīfa Abū-l-Abbās as Sāffāh founded the famous Abbāsid dynasty. Of his successors Abū Ja'far al Mansūr (754-775 A.D.), Muhammad al Mahdi (775-785 A.D.), Harūn Al Rashīd (786-809 A.D.), and Al Māmūn (813-833 A.D.) were the greatest monarchs. Mansūr transferred the capital from Damascus to Baghdād on the western banks of the Tigris. It soon became a very great city. Khālid bin Barmak was the Chancellor of the exchequer of the first Abbāsid emperors. Barmak was descended from a member of Naubehār (*navavihāra*, the new monastery) and then converted to Islām; but he and his descendants—the Barmakides—who were ministers down to 803 A D.—were believed to be Muhammadans but in name. They sent for Indian scholars, made them the chief physicians of the Government hospitals, and got them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic, books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology., philosophy, astrology and other subjects. The influence

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1. See I. L. C. F. E. Chs. XIV, XV and XVI. *Ed*,

of Indian culture was felt very much at the court of Baghdād. Mansūr, as prescribed in the *Artha Śāstra*, followed a strict daily routine of royal duties, dealing with administrative work in the forenoon, and hearing despatches and taking counsel with his ministers after evening prayers. In his age began the rationalistic school of Islām. As Sindh was under the rule of the Khalīfa Mansūr, books like the *Brahmasiddhānta*, and *Khaṇḍanakhādyaka*, were taken to Baghdād and translated respectively into the *Sindhind* and *Arkhand*. Rashīd enlarged the translation department founded by Mansūr and increased the staff. Under the advice of the Barmakides, he developed the arts of civilized life everywhere. Himself a poet, he was very liberal to poets. Māmūn was the greatest of the Khalīfas of Baghdād. Mathematics, astronomy, medicine and other sciences were cultivated more diligently in his reign than before. Dūbān, a Brāhmaṇa, was appointed the director of the translators of works into Arabic.[1]

Baghdād, then, became the centre for distributing Indian knowledge to the west. Arabic scholars took it to Spain and the rest of Europe. The word *Uccha*, 'apex' of a planet's orbit, was borrowed in the form 'aux' in Latin translations of the works of Arabian scholars. Europe is indebted to the Arabians and they to the Indians, also for the sciences of Arithmetic and Algebra The numerals, the zero, the decimal place value of figures, which made the study of Arithmetic possible (it being impossible to be developed by the Romans on account of their clumsy notation), the solution of Arithmetical problems by the rule of three, the extraction of the square root and the cube root, the solution of Algebraical equations, the laws of proportion, Permutations

1. For more information on the subject, see A.I., pp. xxxi–xxxiv (Preface). *Ed.*

and Combinations, Plane Trigonometry (without Logarithms) and Spherical Trigonometry, all these were taken from India to Baghdād, and thence to Europe. The Khalīfas of Baghdād caused a considerable number of works upon the subject of medicine to be translated from Sanskrit. As Arabian medicine constituted the chief authority of European physicians down to the XVII century, Indian works were by them held in great esteem, and Caraka is repeatedly mentioned in the Latin translations of Avicenna (Ibn Sina), Rhazes (Al Rasi) and Serapion (Ibn Serabi). Indian chemistry went to foreign countries as the hand maiden of Indian medicine and the use of metals and Indian drugs to cure diseases migrated to Europe. A reminder of this is found in the English word *tutty*, impure zinc oxide, from Arabic *tutiya*, itself from Sanskrit *tutha*, zinc. The musical notation designation of notes by the first syllable of their names *sa*, *ri*, *ga*, *ma*, *pa*, *dha*, *ni*—passed from India to the Persians and thence to the Arabs, and was introduced into European music by Guido d' Arezzo in the XI century with the names altered to *da*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sa*, *la*, *be*. The word *gamut* itselt from *gamma*, is but the Sanskrit word *grāma*, Prākrit *gāma*, the musical scale.

This period of three hundred years 600–900 A.D. is the most glorious in Indian history, with regard to the cultural influence exerted by India on other countries from Baghdād to Pekin. Indian books were studied and translated and Indian culture then slowly spread to Europe in the West and Japan in the East. But in India itself the princes had developed a great jealousy of each other, chiefly due to the Rājpūt sense of personal dignity, which developed into constant internecine feuds, which made it easy for the Mussalmāns to establish their rule in the country.

CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	For	Read
5	34	aud	and
22	1	Himalayan	Himālayan
30	1	Arya	Ārya
"	19	vedic	Vedic
"	26	Dasyas	Dasyus
32	20	altais	Altais
39	21	Aṅgirases	Aṅgirasas
40	26	vedic	Vedic
"	31	*nātaka*	*nāṭaka*
49	7	phrese	phrase
52	21	Samhiha	Samhitā
55	33	Samhita	Samhitā
79	23	Vyākhyana	Vyākhyāna
87	2	Ṣoḍasa	Ṣoḍaśa
93	3	Vyākā	Vyāka
95	4	Vaiśesika	Vaiśeṣika
108	1	Agamas	*Āgamas*
109	26	Pāṇḍvas	Pāṇḍavas
110	2	Sāstras	Śāstras
112	28	Tirthankar	Tīrthānkar
123	29	Seistān	Sīstān
125	7	Banddha	Bauddha
"	7	moṅks	monks
127	7	whey	they
132	3	Āgam	*Āgama*
133	2	Jnātaputra	Jñātaputra
"	3	Jnātrikas	Jñātrikas
"	32	Jñana	Jñāna
134	22	esoterie	esoteric
137	34	or	of
144	6	varttikās	vārttikas
150	11	Cānakya	Cāṇakya
176	5	of of	of
182	24	Sālihotra	Śalihotra
184	33	Capita	Capital
192	14	*yavaṇa*	*yavana*
194	24	Bṛhad	Bṛhad
195	4	Pātaḷi	Pāṭali
197	12	Prakrit	Prākrit
"	15	Kṣtrapa	Kṣatrapa
"	27	Kabūl	Kābul
199	16	Malwa	Mālwā
"	26	"	"
200	7	arthasāstras	arthaśāstras
205	27	Casṭan	Caṣṭana
206	3	Kṣatrāpa	Kṣatrapa
207	24	Muruṇdas	Muruṇḍas
"	"	Pātaliputra	Pāṭaliputra
209	1	Isvarasena	Īśvarasena
210	22	Mahāvamsa	Mahāvaṁśa
213	16	asceties	ascetics
218	23	af	of
219	21	Goutamī	Gautamī
"	"	Balaśri	Bālaśrī
223	25	Goutamī	Gautamī
"	26	rajarisi	rājarṣi
225	20	Mahāvira	Mahāvīra
"	32	Vibhajavādis	Vibhajjavādis
226	14	obsorbed	absorbed
227	25	*Mahayāna*	*Mahāyāna*
"	32	Śanyāsī	Sanyāsī
228	35	Hastināpūra	Hastināpur
230	10	Comoat	Como at
"	15	skiriting	skirting
234	34	o	of
241	11	Mahābhasya	Mahābhāṣya
247	16	Vāsisthiputra	Vāsiṣṭhiputra

Page	Line	For	Read
247	32	Śambu	Śambhu
"	"	Amaraśvara	Amareśvara
249	13	*Stupa*	*stūpa*
250	6	*Saṅghārāms*	*saṅghārāmas*
253	16	Kati	Kaṭi
255	2	Sri	Śrī
256	19	Kastriya	Kṣatriya
"	25	Kamarupa	Kāmarūpa
258	20	Murundas	Muruṇḍas
261	18	Sri	Śrī
262	23	Pragjyotisa	Prāgjyotiṣa
"	27	Pusyavarma	Puṣyavarma
263	10	Kaliñga	Kaliṅga
264	1	grants	grant
"	12	Kathiavad	Kāṭhiāvāḍ
265	3	Kāncanakā	Kāñcanakā
"	22	Konganivarma	Koṅgaṇivarma
"	27	Śalankayana	Śālankāyana
266	14	Mayūrsarma	Mayūrśarma
"	31	Trilōcāna	Trilocana
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